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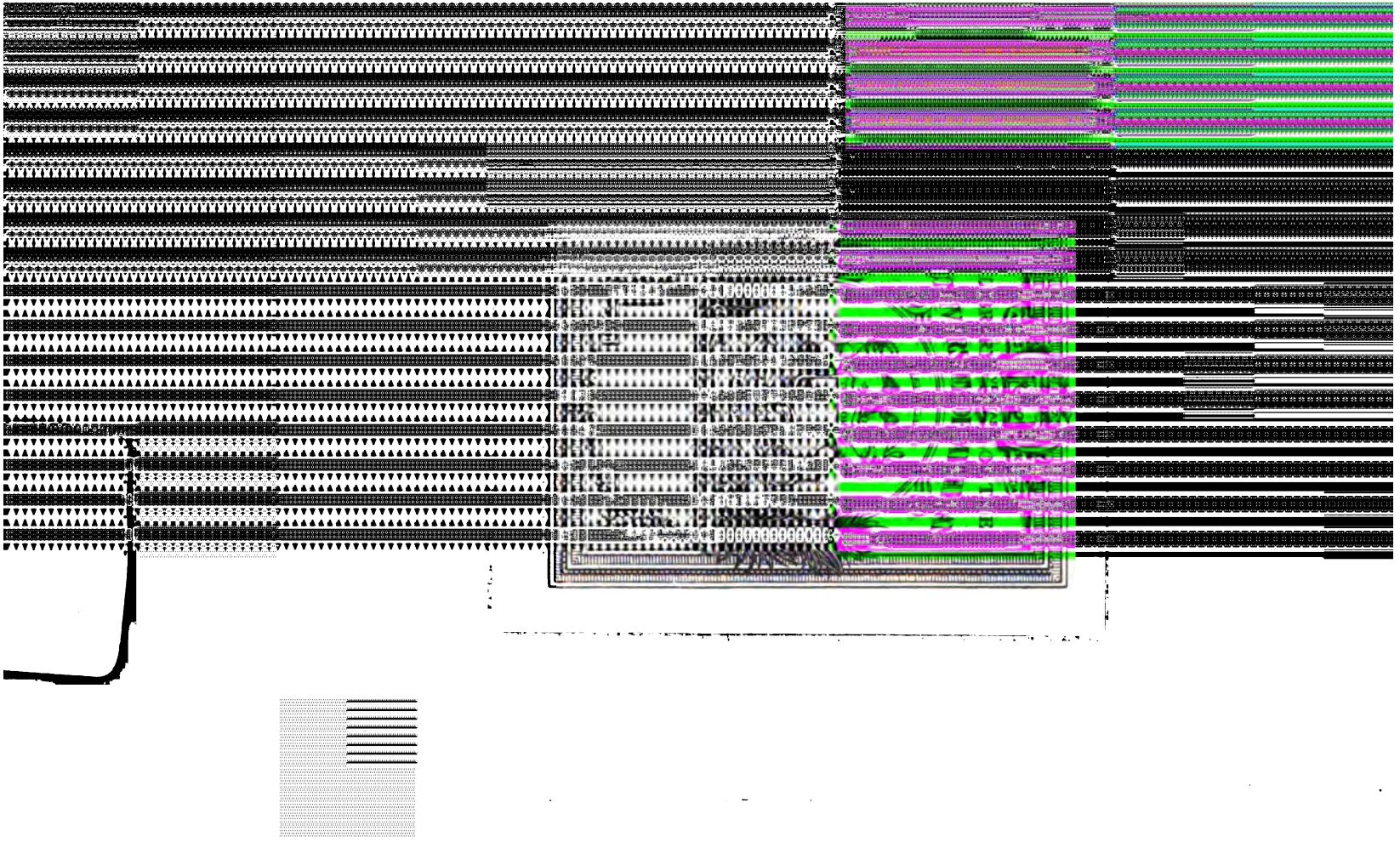

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Edward Ely

THE

WORKS

OF

WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH, M. A.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

Rex arbitratur, rerum absolute necessariarum ad salutem non magnum esse numerum. Quare existimat ejus majestas, nullam ad ineundam concordiam breviorem viam fore, quam si diligenter separentur necessaria a non necessariis, et ut in necessariis conveniat, omnis opera insumatur: in non necessariis libertati Christianæ locus detur. Simpliciter necessaria Rex appellat, quæ vel expresse verbum Dei præcipit credenda faciendave, vel ex verbo Dei necessaria consequentia vetus ecclesia elicuit.——Si ad decidendas hodiernas controversias hæc distinctio adhiberetur, et jus divinum a positivo seu ecclesiastico candide separaretur; non videtur de iis quæ sunt absolute necessaria, inter pios et moderatos viros, longa aut acris contentio futura. Nam et pauca illa sunt, ut modo dicebamus, et fere ex æquo omnibus probantur, qui se Christianos dici postulant. Atque istam distinctionem Sereniss. Rex tanti putat esse momenti ad minuendas controversias, quæ hodie Ecclesiam Dei tantopere exercent, ut omnium pacis studiosorum judicet officium esse, diligentissime hanc explicare, docere, urgere.

Isaac. Casaubon. in Epist. ad Card. Perron. Regis Jacobi nomine scripta.

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SERMON I.

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2 Tim. iii. 1—5.

This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come. For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, trucebreakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, traitors, heady, highminded, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God; having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof.

To a discourse upon these words, I cannot think of any fitter introduction than that wherewith our Saviour sometime began a sermon of his, *This day is this scripture fulfilled.* And I would to God there were not great occasion to fear that a great part of it may be fulfilled in this place.

Two things are contained in it: first, the real wickedness of the generality of the men of the latter times, in the four first verses. For by *men shall be lovers of themselves, covetous, boasters, proud,* &c., I conceive is meant, men generally shall be so; otherwise this were nothing peculiar to the last, but common to all times; for in all times some, nay many, have been *lovers of themselves, covetous, boasters, proud,* &c. Secondly, we have here the formal and hypocritical godliness of the same times, in the last verse, *having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof;* which latter ordinarily and naturally accompanies the former. For, as the shadows are longest when the sun is lowest, and as vines and other fruit trees bear the less fruit

when they are suffered to luxuriate and spend their sap upon superfluous suckers and abundance of leaves; so commonly, we may observe, both in civil conversation, where there is great store of formality, there is little sincerity; and in religion, where there is a decay of true cordial piety, there men entertain and please themselves, and vainly hope to please God, with external formalities and performances, and great store of that righteousness, for which Christ shall judge the world.

It were no difficult matter to shew, that the truth of St. Paul's prediction is by experience justified in both parts of it; but my purpose is to restrain myself to the latter, and to endeavour to clear unto you that, that in our times is generally accomplished: that almost in all places the power of godliness is decayed and vanished, the form and profession of it only remaining: that the spirit and soul and life of religion is for the most part gone; only the outward body or carcass, or rather the picture or shadow of it, being left behind: this is the doctrine which at this time I shall deliver to you; and the use which I desire most heartily you should make of it is this; to take care that you confute, so far as it concerns your particulars, what I fear I shall prove true in the general.

To come then to our business without further compliment, let us examine our ways, and consider impartially what the religion of most men is.

We are baptized in our infancy, that is, as I conceive, dedicated and devoted to God's service, by our parents and the church, as young Samuel was by his mother Hannah; and there we take a solemn vow, "to forsake the Devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all the covetous desires of it; to forsake also all the carnal desires of the flesh, and not to follow nor be led by them." This

vow we take when we be children, and understand it not; and how many are there who know and consider and regard what they have vowed, when they are become men, almost as little as they did being children! Consider the lives and public actions of most men of all conditions, in court, city, and country, and then deny it, if you can, that those three things which we have renounced in our baptism, the profits, honours, and pleasures of the world, are the very gods which divide the world amongst them; are served more devoutly, confided in more heartily, loved more affectionately, than the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in whose name we are baptized: deny, if you can, the daily and constant employment of all men to be either a violent prosecution of the vain pomp and glory of the world, or of the power, riches, and contemptible profits of it, or of the momentary or unsatisfying pleasures of the flesh, or else of the more diabolical humours of pride, malice, revenge, and such like; and yet with this empty form we please and satisfy ourselves, as well as if we were lively born again by the Spirit of God, not knowing or not regarding what St. Peter hath taught us, that the baptism which must save us is, *not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience unto God*, 1 Pet. iii. 21.

When we are come to years capable of instruction, many, which is lamentable to consider, are so little regarded by themselves or others, that they continue little better than pagans in a commonwealth of Christians, and know little more of God or of Christ, than if they had been bred in the Indies. A lamentable case, and which will one day lie heavy upon their account, which might have amended it, and did not. But many, I confess, are taught to act over this play of religion and learning, to say, *Our Father, which art in*

heaven; and, "I believe in God the Father Almighty;" but where are the men that live so, as if they did believe in earnest that God is their almighty Father? where are they that fear him, and trust him, and depend upon him only for their whole happiness, and love him, and obey him, as in reason we ought to do to an almighty Father; who, if he be our Father, and we be indeed his children, will do for us all the good he can; and if he be almighty, can do for us all the good he will: and yet, how few are there who love him with half that affection as children usually do their parents, or believe him with half that simplicity, or serve him with half that diligence! And then for the Lord's Prayer, the plain truth is, we lie unto God for the most part clean through it; and for want of desiring indeed what in word we pray for, tell him to his face as many false tales as we make petitions. For who shews by his endeavours that he desires heartily that God's name should be hallowed, that is, holily and religiously worshipped and adored by all men? that his kingdom should be advanced and enlarged; that his blessed will should be universally obeyed? Who shews, by his forsaking sin, that he desires, so much as he should do, the forgiveness of it? Nay, who doth not revenge upon all occasions the affronts, contempts, and injuries put upon him, and so upon the matter curse himself, as often as he says, *Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us?* How few depend upon God only for their daily bread, viz. the good things of this life, as upon the only Giver of them, so as neither to get nor keep any of them, by any means, which they know or fear to be offensive unto God! How few desire in earnest to avoid temptation! Nay, who almost is there that takes not the Devil's office out of his hand, and is not him-

self a tempter both to himself and others? Lastly, who almost is there that desires heartily, and above all things, so much as the thing deserves, to be delivered from the greatest evil; sin, I mean, and the anger of God? Now, beloved, this is certain; he that employs not requisite industry to obtain what he pretends to desire, does not desire indeed, but only pretends to do so: he that desires not what he prays for, prays with tongue only, and not with his heart; indeed does not pray to God, but play and dally with him. And yet this is all which men generally do, and therefore herein also accomplish this prophecy, *having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof.*

And this were ill enough, were it in private; but we abuse God Almighty also with our public and solemn formalities; we make the church a stage whereon to act our parts, and play our pageantry; there we make a profession every day of "confessing our sins with humble, lowly, and obedient hearts;" and yet, when we have talked after this manner twenty, thirty, forty years together, our hearts for the most part continue as proud, as impenitent, as disobedient, as they were in the beginning. We make great protestations, "when we assemble and meet together to render thanks to God Almighty for the benefits received at his hands;" and if this were to be performed with words, with Hosannas and Hallelujahs, and Gloria Patris, and Psalms, and Hymns, and such like outward matters, peradventure we should do it very sufficiently; but in the mean time, with our lives and actions we provoke the Almighty, and that to his face, with all variety of grievous and bitter provocations; we do daily and hourly such things as we know, and he hath assured us, to be as odious unto him, and contrary to his nature, as any thing in the world is to

the nature of any man in the world; and all this upon poor, trifling, trivial, no temptations. If a man whom you have dealt well with should deal so with you, one whom you had redeemed from the Turkish slavery, and instated in some indifferent good inheritance, should make you fine speeches, entertain you with panegyrics, and have your praises always in his mouth; but all this while do nothing that pleases you, but upon all occasions put all affronts and indignities upon you; would you say this were a thankful man? nay, would you not make heaven and earth ring of his unthankfulness, and detest him almost as much for his fair speeches as his foul actions? Beloved, such is our unthankfulness to our God and Creator, to our Lord and Saviour: our tongues ingeminate, and cry aloud, *Hosanna, Hosanna;* but the louder voice of our lives and actions is, *Crucify him, crucify him.* We court God Almighty, and compliment with him, and profess to esteem his service "perfect freedom;" but if any thing be to be done, much more if any thing be to be suffered for him, here we leave him. We bow the knee before him, and put a reed in his hand, and a crown upon his head, and cry, *Hail, King of the Jews!* but then with our customary sins, we give him gall to eat, and vinegar to drink; we thrust a spear in his side, nail him to the cross, and crucify to ourselves the Lord of glory. This is not the office of a friend, to bewail a dead friend with vain lamentations; *sed quæ voluerit meminisse, quæ mandaverit exequi,* to remember what he desires, and execute what he commands. So said a dying Roman to his friend, and so say I to you. To be thankful to God, is not to say, God be praised, or, God be thanked, but to remember what he desires, and execute what he commands. To be thankful to God, is certainly to love him, and to love him is to keep his

commandments; so saith our Saviour, John xix. *If ye love me, keep my commandments.* If we do so, we may justly pretend to thankfulness; which, believe me, is not a word, nor to be performed with words: but if we do not so, as generally we do not, our talk of thankfulness is nothing else but mere talk, and we accomplish St. Paul's prophecy herein also; having a form of thankfulness, but not the reality nor the power of it.

If I should reckon up unto you how many direct lies every wicked man tells to God Almighty, as often as he says Amen to this *form of godliness* which our church hath prescribed; if I should present unto you all our acting of piety, and playing of humiliation, and personating of devotion, in the Psalms, the Litanies, the Collects, and generally in the whole service, I should be infinite; and therefore I have thought good to draw a veil over a great part of our hypocrisy, and to restrain the remainder of our discourse to the contrariety between our profession and performance, only in two things, I mean, faith and repentance.

And, first, for faith: we profess, and indeed generally, because it is not safe to do otherwise, that we believe the scripture to be true, and that it contains the plain and only way to infinite and eternal happiness; but if we did generally believe what we do profess, if this were the language of our hearts as well as our tongues, how comes it to pass that the study of it is so generally neglected?

Let a book that treats of the philosopher's stone promise never so many mountains of gold, and even the restoring of the golden age again, yet were it no marvel if few should study it; and the reason is, because few would believe it. But if there were a book extant, and ordinary to be had, as the Bible is, which men did generally believe to contain a plain and easy way for

all men to become rich, and to live in health and pleasure, and this world's happiness; can any man imagine that this book would be unstudied by any man? And why then should I not believe, that if the scripture were firmly and heartily believed the certain and only way to happiness, which is perfect and eternal, it would be studied by all men with all diligence? Seeing therefore most Christians are so cold and negligent in the study of it, prefer all other business, all other pleasures, before it; is there not great reason to fear that many who pretend to believe firmly believe it not at all, or very weakly and faintly? If the general of an army, or an ambassador to some prince or state, were assured by the king his master, that the transgressing any point of his commission should cost him his life; and the exact performance of it be recompensed with as high a reward as were in the king's power to bestow upon him; can it be imagined that any man, who believes this, and is in his right mind, can be so supinely and stupidly negligent of this charge, which so much imports him, as to oversee, through want of care, any one necessary article, or part of his commission; especially if it be delivered to him in writing, and at his pleasure to peruse it every day? Certainly this absurd negligence is a thing without example, and such as peradventure will never happen to any sober man to the world's end; and by the same reason, if we were firmly persuaded that this book doth indeed contain that charge and commission which infinitely more concerns us, it were not in reason possible but that to such a persuasion our care and diligence about it should be in some measure answerable. Seeing therefore most of us are so strangely careless, so grossly negligent of it, is there not great reason to fear, that though we have professors and protestors in abundance, yet the

faithful, the truly and sincerely faithful, are in a manner failed from the children of men? What but this can be the cause that men are so commonly ignorant of so many articles, and particular mandates of it, which yet are as manifest in it as if they were written with the beams of the sun? For example; how few of our ladies and gentlewomen do or will understand that a voluptuous life is damnable and prohibited to them! yet St. Paul saith so very plainly, *She that liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth*[a]. I believe this case directly regards not the sex: he would say, *he*, as well as *she*, if there had been occasion. How few of the gallants of our time do or will understand, that it is not lawful for them to be as expensive and costly in apparel, as their means, or perhaps their credit, will extend unto! which is to sacrifice unto vanity that which by the law of Christ is due unto charity; and yet the same St. Paul forbids plainly this excess even to women—*Also let women* (he would have said it much rather to the men) *array themselves in comely apparel, with shamefacedness and modesty, not with embroidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly apparel*[b]. And to make our ignorance the more inexcusable, the very same rule is delivered by St. Peter also, 1 Epist. iii. 3.

How few rich men are or will be persuaded that the law of Christ permits them not to heap up riches for ever, nor perpetually to add house to house, and land to land, though by lawful means; but requires of them thus much charity at least, that ever, while they are providing for their wives and children, they should, out of the increase wherewith God blesseth their industry, allot the poor a just and free proportion! And when they have provided for them in a convenient

[a] 1 Tim. v. 6. [b] 1 Tim. ii. 9.

manner, (such as they themselves shall judge sufficient and convenient in others,) that then they should give over making purchase after purchase; but with the surplusage of their revenue beyond their expense, procure, as much as lies in them, that no Christian remain miserably poor; few rich men, I fear, are or will be thus persuaded, and their daily actions shew as much: yet undoubtedly, either our Saviour's general command, of *loving our neighbours as ourselves*, which can hardly consist with our keeping vainly, or spending vainly, what he wants for his ordinary subsistence, lays upon us a necessity of this high liberality: or his special command concerning this matter; *Quod superest date pauperibus*, "That which remains give to the poor:" or that which St. John saith, 1 Epist. iii. 17. reacheth home unto it, *Whosoever hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up the bowels of his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?* Which is in effect as if he had said, He that keepeth from any brother in Christ that which his brother wants, and he wants not, doth but vainly think that he loves God; and therefore vainly hopes that God loves him.

Where almost are the men that are or will be persuaded the gospel of Christ requires of men humility, like to that of little children, and that under the highest pain of damnation? that is, that we should no more overvalue ourselves, or desire to be highly esteemed by others; no more undervalue, scorn, or despise others; no more affect preeminence over others, than little children do, before we have put that pride into them, which afterwards we charge wholly upon their natural corruption: and yet our blessed Saviour requires nothing more rigidly nor more plainly, than this high degree of humility; *Verily*, saith he, *I say*

unto you, (he speaks to his disciples affecting high places, and demanding which of them should be greatest,) *except you be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.*

Would it not be strange news to a great many, that not only adultery and fornication, but even uncleanness and lasciviousness; not only idolatry and witchcraft, but hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, and contentions; not only murders, but envyings; not drunkenness only, but revelling, are things prohibited to Christians, and such as if we forsake them not we cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven? And yet these things, as strange as they may seem, are plainly written; some of them by St. Peter, 1 Epist. ch. iv. but all of them by St. Paul, Gal. v. 19. *Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these; Adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness,* &c. *of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.*

If I should tell you that *all bitterness and evil-speaking,* (nay, such is the modesty and gravity which Christianity requires of us,) *foolish talk and jesting,* are things not allowed to Christians, would not many cry out, These are hard and strange sayings, *who can hear them?* And yet, as strange as they may seem, they have been written well-nigh 1600 years, and are yet extant in very legible characters in the Epistle to the Ephesians, the end of the fourth, and the beginning of the fifth chapter.

To come a little nearer to the business of our times, the chief actors in this bloody tragedy which is now upon the stage, who have robbed our sovereign lord the king of his forts, towns, treasure, ammunition, houses, of the persons of many of his subjects, and (as

much as lies in them) of the hearts of all of them; is it credible they know and remember and consider the example of David, recorded for their instruction, *whose heart smote him, when he had cut off the hem of Saul's garment?*

They that made no scruple at all of fighting with his sacred majesty, and shooting muskets and ordnance at him, (which sure have not the skill to choose a subject from a king,) to the extreme hazard of his sacred person, whom by all possible obligations they are bound to defend; do they know, think you, the general rule, without exception or limitation, left by the Holy Ghost for our direction in all such cases, *Who can lift up his hand against the Lord's anointed, and be innocent*[c]? or do they consider his command in the Proverbs of Solomon[d], *My son, fear God and the king: and meddle not with them that desire change:* or, his counsel in the Book of Ecclesiastes[e], *I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God:* or, because they possibly may pretend, that they are exempted from, or unconcerned in, the commands of obedience delivered in the Old Testament, do they know and remember the precept given to all Christians by St. Peter, *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him:* or, that terrible sanction of the same command, *They that resist shall receive to themselves damnation*, left us by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, who then were the miserable subjects of the worst king, the worst man, nay, I think I may add truly, the worst beast in the world; that so all rebels' mouths might be stopped for ever, and left without all colour or pretence whatsoever, to justify resistance of

[c] 1 Sam. xxvi. 9. [d] Prov. xxiv. 21. [e] Eccles. viii. 2.

sovereign power? Undoubtedly, if they did know and consider and lay close to their hearts these places of scripture, or the fearful judgment which befell Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, for this very sin which now they commit, and with a high hand still proceed in, it would be impossible but their hearts would smite them, as David's did upon an infinitely less occasion, and affright them out of those ways of present confusion and eternal damnation. And then on the other side, they that maintain the king's righteous cause with the hazard of their lives and fortunes, but by their oaths and curses, by their drunkenness and debauchery, by their irreligion and profaneness, fight more powerfully against their party, than by all other means they do or can fight for it, are not, I fear, very well acquainted with any part of the Bible: but that strict caution, which properly concerns themselves, in the Book of Leviticus, I much doubt they have scarce ever heard of it, *When thou goest to war with thine enemies, then take heed there be no wicked thing in thee;* not only no wickedness in the cause thou maintainest, nor no wickedness in the means by which thou maintainest it, but no personal impieties in the persons that maintain it. Beloved, for the former two, we have reason to be full of comfort and confidence: for what is our cause; what is that which you fight, and we pray for; but to deliver the king and all his good subjects out of the power of their enemies, who will have no peace but with their slaves and vassals? and for the means by which it is maintained, it is not by lying; it is not by calumnies; it is not by running first ourselves, and then forcing the people, to universal perjury; but by a just war, because necessary; and by as fair and merciful a war, as if they were not rebels and traitors you fight against, but competitors in a doubtful title. But

now for the third part of the caution, that, to deal ingenuously with you, and to deliver my own soul, if I cannot other men's, that I cannot think of with half so much comfort as the former; but seeing so many Jonases embarked in the same ship, the same cause with us, and so many Achans entering into battle with us against the Canaanites; seeing publicans and sinners on the one side, against scribes and Pharisees on the other; on the one side hypocrisy, on the other profaneness; no honesty nor justice on the one side, and very little piety on the other; on the one side horrible oaths, curses, and blasphemies; on the other, pestilent lies, calumnies, and perjury: when I see among them the pretence of reformation, if not the desire, pursued by Antichristian, Mahometan, devilish means; and amongst us little or no zeal for reformation of what is indeed amiss, little or no care to remove the cause of God's anger towards us, by just, lawful, and Christian means; I profess plainly I cannot without trembling consider what is likely to be the event of these distractions; I cannot but fear that the goodness of our cause may sink under the burden of our sins; and that God in his justice, because we will not suffer his judgments to achieve their prime scope and intention, which is our amendment and reformation, may either deliver us up to the blind zeal and fury of our enemies; or else, which I rather fear, make us instruments of his justice each against other, and of our own just and deserved confusion. This, I profess plainly, is my fear, and I would to God it were the fear of every soldier in his majesty's army: but that which increaseth my fear is, that I see very many of them have very little or none at all; I mean not, that they are fearless towards their enemies, (that is our joy and triumph,) but that they shew their courage even against God, and fear

not Him whom it is madness not to fear. Now from whence can their not fearing him proceed, but from their not knowing him, their not knowing his will and their own duty? not knowing how highly it concerns soldiers, above other professions, to be religious? and then, if ever, when they are engaged in dangerous adventures, and every moment have their lives in their hands, *when they go to war with their enemies, then to take heed there be no wicked thing in them.*

You see, beloved, how many instances and examples I have given you of our gross ignorance of what is necessary and easy for us to know; and to these it were no difficult matter to add more: now from whence can this ignorance proceed, but from supine negligence? and from whence this negligence, but from our not believing what we pretend to believe? For did we believe firmly and heartily that this book were given us by God for the rule of our actions, and that obedience to it were the certain and only way to eternal happiness, it were impossible we should be such enemies to ourselves, such traitors to our own souls, as not to search it, at least, with so much diligence, that no necessary point of our duty plainly taught in it could possibly escape us. But it is certain, and apparent to all the world, that the greatest part of Christians, through gross and wilful negligence, remain utterly ignorant of many necessary points of their duty to God and man; and therefore it is much to be feared that this book, and the religion of Christ contained in it, among an infinity of professors, labours with great penury of true believers.

It were an easy matter (if the time would permit) to present unto you many other demonstrations of the same conclusion; but to this, drawn from our willing ignorance of that which is easy and necessary for us to

know, I will content myself to add only one more, taken from our voluntary and presumptuous neglect to do those things which we know and acknowledge to be necessary.

If a man should say unto me, that it concerns him as much as his life is worth to go presently to such a place, and that he knows but one way to it, and I should see him stand still, or go some other way, had I any reason to believe that this man believes himself? *Quid verba audiam, cum facta videam?* saith he in the comedy; *Protestatio contra factum non valet,* saith the law: and why should I believe that that man believes obedience to Christ the only way to present and eternal happiness, whom I see wittingly and willingly, and constantly and customarily to disobey him? The time was, that we all knew that the king could reward those that did him service, and punish those that did him disservice, and then all men were ready to obey his command, and he was a rare man that durst do any thing to his face that offended him. Beloved, if we did but believe in God so much as most subjects do in their king; did we as verily believe that God could and would make us perfectly happy, if we serve him, though all the world conspire to make us miserable; and that he could and would make us miserable, if we serve him not, though all the world should conspire to make us happy; how were it possible that to such a faith our lives should not be conformable! Who was there ever so madly in love with a present penny, as to run the least hazard of the loss of 10,000*l.* a year to gain it, or not readily to part with it upon any probable hope, or light persuasion, much more a firm belief, that by doing so he should gain 100,000*l.* Now, beloved, the happiness which the servants of Christ are promised in the scripture we all pretend to

believe that it exceeds the conjunction of all the good things of the world, and much more such a proportion as we may possibly enjoy, infinitely more than 10,000*l.* a year, or 100,000*l.* doth a penny; for 100,000*l.* is but a penny so many times over, and 10,000*l.* a year is worth but a certain number of pence; but between heaven and earth, between finite and infinite, between eternity and a moment, there is utterly no proportion; and therefore seeing we are so apt, upon trifling occasions, to hazard this heaven for this earth, this infinite for this finite, this all for this nothing; is it not much to be feared, that though many of us pretend to much faith, we have indeed but very little, or none at all? The sum of all which hath been spoken concerning this point is this: were we firmly persuaded that obedience to the gospel of Christ is the true and only way to present and eternal happiness, (without which faith no man living can be justified,) then the innate desire of our own happiness could not but make us studious inquirers of the will of Christ, and conscionable performers of it: but there are (as experience shews) very few who make it their care and business to know the will of Christ; and of those few again very many who make no conscience at all of doing what they know; therefore though they profess and protest they have faith, yet their protestations are not to be regarded against their actions; but we may safely and reasonably conclude what was to be concluded, that the doctrine of Christ, amongst an infinity of professors, labours with great scarcity of true, serious, and hearty believers; and that herein also we accomplish St. Paul's prediction, *having a form of godliness, but denying* &c.

But perhaps the truth and reality of our repentance may make some kind of satisfaction to God Almighty

for our hypocritical dallying with him in all the rest. Truly, I would be heartily glad it were so; but I am so far from being of this faith, that herein I fear we are most of all hypocritical, and that the generality of professors is so far from a real practice of true repentance, that scarce one in an hundred understands truly what it is.

Some satisfy themselves with a bare confession and acknowledgment, either that they are sinners in general, or that they have committed such and such sins in particular; which acknowledgment comes not yet from the heart of a great many, but only from their lips and tongues: for how many are they that do rather complain and murmur that they are sinners, than acknowledge and confess it; and make it, upon the matter, rather their unhappiness and misfortune, than their true fault, that they are so? Such are all they who impute all their commissions of evil to the unavoidable want of restraining grace, and all their omission of good to the like want of effectual exciting grace; all such as pretend that the commandments of God are impossible to be kept any better than they are kept; and that the world, the flesh, and the Devil are even omnipotent enemies; and that God neither doth nor will give sufficient strength to resist and overcome them; all such as lay all their faults upon Adam, and say, with those rebellious Israelites, (whom God assures that they neither had nor should have just reason to say so,) *that their fathers had eaten sour grapes, and their teeth were set on edge;* lastly, all such as lay all their sins upon Divine prescience, and predestination, saying with their tongues, O what wretched sinners have we been! but in their hearts, How could we help it! we were predestinate to it, we could not do otherwise.

All such as seriously so persuade themselves, and think to hide their nakedness with such fig leaves as these, can no more be said to acknowledge themselves guilty of a fault, than a man that was born blind, or lame, with the stone or gout, can accuse himself with any fault for being born so: well may such an one complain, and bemoan himself, and say, O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this unhappiness! But such a complaint is as far from being a true acknowledgment of any faults, as a bare acknowledgment of a fault is from true repentance. For to confess a fault, is to acknowledge that freely and willingly, without any constraint or unavoidable necessity, we have transgressed the law of God, it being in our power, by God's grace, to have done otherwise. To aggravate this fault is to confess we have done so when we might easily have avoided it, and had no great nor violent temptation to it: to pretend any great difficulty in the matter, is to excuse and extenuate it: but to say that, all things considered, it was absolutely impossible for you to avoid it, is flatly to deny it. Others there are that think they have done enough, if to confession of sin they add some sorrow for it; if, when the present fit of sin is past, and they are returned to themselves, the sting remaining breed some remorse of conscience, some complaints against their wickedness and folly for having done so, and some intentions to forsake it, though vanishing and ineffectual. These heatdrops, this morning dew of sorrow, though it presently vanish, and they return to their sin again upon the next temptation, *as a dog to his vomit*, when the pang is over; yet in the pauses between whiles they are in their good mood, they conceive themselves to have very true and very good repentance; so that if they should have the good fortune to be taken away in one of these *in-*

tervalla, one of these sober moods, they should certainly be saved; which is just as if a man in a quartan ague, or the stone, or gout, should think himself rid of his disease as oft as he is out of his fit.

But if repentance were no more but so, how could St. Paul have truly said, that *godly sorrow worketh repentance?* 2 Cor. vii. 10. Every man knows that nothing can work itself. The architect is not the house which he builds, the father is not the son which he begets, the tradesman is not the work which he makes; and therefore if sorrow, godly sorrow, worketh repentance, certainly sorrow is not repentance. The same St. Paul tells us in the same place, *that the sorrow of the world worketh death;* and you will give me leave to conclude from hence, Therefore it is not death: and what shall hinder me from concluding thus also; Godly sorrow worketh repentance, therefore it is not repentance?

To this purpose it is worth observing, than when the scripture speaks of that kind of repentance which is only sorrow for something done, and wishing it undone, it constantly useth the word μεταμέλεια, to which forgiveness of sins is nowhere promised. So it is written of Judas the son of perdition, Matt. xxvii. 3. μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπέστρεψε, *he repented, and went and hanged himself*, and so constantly in other places. But that repentance, to which remission of sins and salvation is promised, is perpetually expressed by the word μετάνοια, which signifies a through change of the heart and soul, of the life and actions, Μετανοεῖτε· ἤγγικε γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, Matt. iii. 2. which is rendered in our last translation, *Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.* But much better, because freer from ambiguity, in the entrance to our Common Prayer-book, "Amend your lives, for the kingdom of

heaven is at hand." From whence, by the way, we may observe, that in the judgment of those holy and learned martyrs, repentance and amendment of life are all one: and I would to God the same men, out of the same care of avoiding mistakes, and to take away occasion of cavilling our liturgy from them that seek it, and out of fear of encouraging carnal men to security in sinning, had been so provident, as to set down in terms the first sentence taken out of Ezek. xviii. and not have put in the place of it an ambiguous, and (though not in itself, yet accidentally, by reason of the mistake to which it is subject) I fear very often a pernicious paraphrase: for whereas thus they make it, "At what time soever a sinner doth repent him of his sins from the bottom of his heart, I will put all his wickedness out of my remembrance, saith the Lord;" the plain truth, if you will hear it, is, the Lord doth not say so, these are not the very words of God, but the paraphrase of men: the words of God are as followeth—*If the wicked turn from all the sins which he hath committed, and keep all my statutes, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live, he shall not die;* where, I hope, you easily observe, that there is no such word as "At what time soever a sinner doth repent," &c. And that there is a wide difference between this (as the word *repent* usually sounds in the ears of the people) and turning from all sins, and keeping all God's statutes; that indeed having no more in it but sorrow and good purposes, may be done easily and certainly at the last gasp, and it is very strange that any Christian, who dies in his right senses, and knows the difference between heaven and hell, should fail of the performing it; but this work of turning, keeping, and doing, is (though not impossible by extraordinary mercy to be performed at last, yet) ordinarily

a work of time, a long and laborious work (but yet heaven is very well worth it); and if you mean to go through with it, you had need go about it presently. Yet seeing the composers of our Liturgy thought fit to abbreviate *turning from all sin, and keeping all God's statutes, and doing that which is lawful and right,* into this one word, *repenting*, it is easy and obvious to collect from hence, as I did before, from the other place, that by repentance they understood, not only sorrow for sin, but conversion from it. The same word μετάνοια, Matt. xii. 41, is used in speaking of the repentance of the Ninevites; and how real, hearty, and effectual a conversion that was, you may see, Jonas iii, from the fifth to the last verse: *The people of Nineveh believed God —and put on sackcloth, from the greatest of them even to the least of them. For word came unto the king of Nineveh, and he arose from his throne, and he laid his robe from him, and covered him with sackcloth, and sat in ashes. And he caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh by the decree of the king and his nobles, saying, Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste any thing: let them not feed, nor drink water: but let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God: yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands. Who can tell if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not?*

Which words contain an excellent and lively pattern for all true penitents to follow, and whereunto to conform themselves in their humiliation and repentance. And truly, though there be no Jonas sent expressly from God to cry unto us, *Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed;* yet seeing the mouth of eternal truth hath taught us, that *a kingdom divided* is in such dan-

ger of ruin and destruction, that, morally speaking, if it continue divided it cannot stand; and seeing the strange and miserable condition of our nation at this time may give any considering man just cause to fear, that as in Rehoboam's case, so likewise in ours, *the thing is of the Lord*, in tending to bring his heavy judgment upon us, for our great sins, and our stupid and stupendous security in sinning, and to make us instruments of his designed vengeance, one upon another; peradventure it would be a seasonable and necessary motion to be made to our king and his nobles—to revive this old proclamation of the king of Nineveh, and to send it with authority through his majesty's dominions, and to try whether it will produce some good effect: *Who can tell, if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not?* Who can tell, whether he that hath the hearts of king and people in his hand, and turneth them whithersoever he thinketh best, may not upon our repentance take our extremity for his opportunity, and at last open our eyes, that we *may see those things that belong to our peace*, and shew us the way of peace, which hitherto we have not known? But this by the way: for my purpose, I observe, that this repentance, which, when the sword of God was drawn, and his arm advanced for a blow, stayed his hand, and sheathed his sword again, was not a mere sorrow for their sins, and a purpose to leave them; nay, it was not only laying aside their gallantry and bravery, and putting on sackcloth, and sitting in ashes, and crying mightily unto God, of which yet we are come very short: but it was also, and that chiefly, their universal turning from their evil way, which above all the rest was prevalent and effectual with God Almighty: for so it is written; *And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil*

way, and God repented him of the evil that he said he would do, and he did it not.

In the Gospel of St. Luke, chap. xxiv, the condition of the new covenant, to which remission of sins is promised, is expressed by the word μετάνοια: *Thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead, and that* (μετάνοια) *repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name.* Which place if ye compare it with that in the Gospel of St. Matthew, *Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all whatsoever I shall command you;* it will be no difficulty to collect, that what our Saviour calls in one place μετάνοια, *repentance*, that he calls in another, *observing all that he hath commanded;* which, if repentance were no more but sorrow for sin, and intending to leave it, certainly he never could nor would have done: and as little could St. Paul, Acts xx. 21, profess, that the whole matter of his preaching was nothing else but μετάνοια εἰς τὸν Θεὸν, *repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ:* it being manifest in his Epistles, he preaches and presses every where the necessity of mortification, regeneration, new and sincere obedience, all which are evidently not contained under the head of *faith;* and therefore it is evident he comprised all these under the name of *repentance.*

In which words moreover it is very considerable, as also in another place, Heb. vi. 1, where, among the fundamentals of Christianity, the first place is given to μετάνοια ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν ἔργων, I say, it is very considerable, that though the word may not very absolutely be rendered *repentance*, yet we shall do much right to the places, and make them much more clear and intelligible, if instead of *repentance*, we should put *conver-*

sion, as it is in some of the best Latin translations: so, for example, if instead of *repentance toward God*, Acts xx, and *repentance from dead works*, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, which our English tongue will hardly bear, we should read *conversion to God, and conversion from dead works;* every one sees it would be more perspicuous and more natural; whereas on the other side, if instead of repentance we should substitute sorrow, (as every true genuine interpretation may, with advantage to the clearness of the sense, be put in place of the word interpreted,) and read the place *sorrow towards God*, and *sorrow from dead works*, it is apparent that this reading would be unnatural and almost ridiculous; which is a great argument that μετάνοια, to which forgiveness of sins is promised in the gospel, is not only sorrow for sin, but conversion from sin.

And yet if it be not so, but that heaven may be purchased at easier and cheaper rates, how comes it to pass that in the New Testament we are so plainly and so frequently assured, that without actual and effectual amendment and newness of life, without actual and effectual mortification, regeneration, sanctification, there is no hope, no possibility of salvation?

Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire, Luke iii. 9. So St. John Baptist preaches repentance. It is not then the leaves of a fair profession, no nor the blossoms of good purposes and intentions, but the fruit, the fruit only, that can save us from the fire; neither is it enough not to bear ill fruit, unless we bring forth good. *Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.*

Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that

doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven: so our Saviour, Matt. vii. 21. And again, after he had delivered his most Divine precepts in his sermon on the mount, (which sermon contains the substance of the gospel of Christ,) he closeth up all with saying, *He that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not,* (and yet these were the hardest sayings that ever he said,) *I will liken him to a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand;* (that is, his hope of salvation upon a sandy and false ground;) *and when the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, it fell, and great was the fall of it.*

They that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts: so St. Paul, Gal. v. 24. They then that have not done so, nor crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts, let them be as sorrowful as they please, let them intend what they please, they, as yet, are none of Christ's: and, good Lord! what a multitude of Christians then are there in the world that do not belong to Christ?

The works of the flesh, says the same St. Paul, Gal. v. 19, 20, 21. *are manifest, which are these; Adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings—of the which I tell you before, as I have told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.* He doth not say, they which have done such things shall not be saved, but manifestly to the contrary—*such were some of you; but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified:* but he says, *they which do such things,* and without amendment of life shall continue doing them, shall not be excused by any pretence of sorrow and good purposes, *they shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven.*

And again, in another Epistle, *Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, shall inherit the kingdom of God.*

In Christ Jesus (said the same St. Paul in other places) *nothing availeth but faith: nothing but a new creature: nothing but keeping the commandments of God:* it is not then a wishing, but a working faith; not wishing you were a new creature, nor sorrowing you are not, but being a new creature; not wishing you had kept, nor sorrowing you have not kept, nor purposing vainly to keep, but keeping his commandments, must prevail with him.

Follow peace with all men, and holiness, (saith the Divine author of the Epistle to the Hebrews,) *without which no man shall see the Lord.*

St. Peter, in his Second Epistle, commends unto us a golden chain of Christian perfections; consisting of these links, *faith, virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, brotherly kindness, charity;* and then adds, *He that lacketh these things is blind, and knoweth not that he was purged from his old sins.* Let his sorrow be never so great, and his desires never so good, yet if he lack these things he is blind; and *was* purged from his old sins, but *is not.*

Lastly, St. John, *He that hath this hope purifieth himself, even as he is pure:* the meaning is not, with the same degree of purity, for that is impossible; but with the same kind, the same truth of purity; he that doth not purify himself may, nay doth, flatter himself, and without warrant presume upon God's favour; but this hope he hath not: and again, *Little children, let no man deceive you; he that doeth righteousness is*

righteous, even as he is righteous. And thus you see all the Divine writers of the New Testament, with one consent, and with one mouth, proclaim the necessity of real holiness, and labour together to disenchant us from this vain fancy, that men may be saved by sorrowing for their sin, and intending to leave it, without effectual conversion and reformation of life; which, it may well be feared, hath sent thousands of souls to hell in a golden dream of heaven.

But is not this to preach works, as the papists do? No certainly, it is not; but to preach works, as Christ and his apostles do: it is to preach the necessity of them, which no good protestant, no good Christian, ever denied; but it is not to preach the merit of them, which is the error of the papists.

But is it not to preach the law in the time of the gospel? No certainly, it is not; for the law forgives no sins, but requires exact obedience, and curseth every one, which from the beginning to the end of his life *continueth not in all things which are written in the law to do them;* but the gospel says, and accordingly I have said unto you, that there is mercy always in store for those *who know the day of their visitation,* and forsake their sins in time of mercy; and that God will pardon their imperfections in the progress of holiness, who miscall not presumptuous and deliberate sins by the name of imperfections, but seriously and truly endeavour to be perfect: only I forewarn you, that you must never look to be admitted to the wedding feast of the king's son, either in the impure rags of any customary sin, or without the wedding garment of Christian holiness; only I forewarn you, that whosoever looks to be made partaker of the joys of heaven, must make it the chief, if not the only business of his life, to know the will of God, and to do it; that great

violence is required by our Saviour for the taking of this kingdom, that the race we are to run is a long race, the building we are to erect is a great building, and will hardly, very hardly, be finished in a day; that the work we have to do of mortifying all vices, and acquiring all Christian virtues, is a long work; we may easily defer it too long, we cannot possibly begin it too soon. Only I would persuade you, and I hope I have done it, that that repentance which is not effectual to true and timely conversion will never be available unto eternal salvation. And if I have proved unto you that this is indeed the nature of true repentance, then certainly I have proved withal, that that repentance wherewith the generality of Christians content themselves, notwithstanding their great professions what they are, and their glorious protestations of what they intend to be, is not the power, but the form, not the truth, but the shadow, of true repentance; and that herein also we accomplish St. Paul's prediction, *having a form of godliness*, &c.

And now what remains but that (as I said in the beginning) I should humbly entreat and earnestly exhort every man, that hath heard me this day, to confute in his particular what I have proved true in the general; to take care that the sin of formality, though it be the sin of our times, may yet not be the sin of our persons; that we satisfy not ourselves with the shadows of religion without the substance of it, nor with the *form of godliness* without *the power of it?*

To this purpose I shall beseech you to consider, that though sacrificing, burning incense, celebrating of set festivals, praying, fasting, and such-like, were, under the law, the service of God commanded by himself; yet whensoever they proceeded not from, nor

were joined with, the sincerity of an honest heart, he professeth frequently, almost in all the prophets, not only his scorn and contempt of them all, as fond, empty, and ridiculous; but also his hating, loathing, and detesting of them as abominable and impious.

The sacrifice of the wicked is abomination to God, Prov. xv. 8. *What have I to do with the multitude of your sacrifices? saith the Lord,* Isai. i. *I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand?—Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; I cannot suffer your new moons, nor sabbaths, nor solemn days; it is iniquity, even your solemn assemblies: my soul hateth your new moons, and appointed feasts; they are a burden to me, I am weary to bear them. And when you shall stretch out your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you: and though you make many prayers, I will not hear; for your hands are full of blood.*

And again, Isai. lxvi. 3. *He that killeth an ox is as if he slew a man; he that sacrificeth a lamb, as if he cut off a dog's neck; he that offereth an oblation, as if he offered swine's flesh; he that burneth incense, as if he blessed an idol.* And what is the reason of this strange aversion of God from his own ordinances? It follows in the next words, *They have chosen their own ways, and their soul delighteth in their abominations.*

Terrible are the words which he speaketh to the same purpose in the prophecy of Amos, chap. v. 21, 22, 23: *I hate, I despise your feastdays, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies. Though ye offer me burnt offerings, and meat offerings, I will not accept them: nor will I regard your peace offerings.*

Now, beloved, if this hypocrisy, this resting in outward performances, were so odious to God under the law, a religion full of shadows and ceremonies; certainly it will be much more odious to do so under the gospel, a religion of much more simplicity, and exacting so much the greater sincerity of the heart, even because it disburdens the outward man of the performance of legal rites and observances. And therefore if we now under the gospel shall think to delude God Almighty, as Michal did Saul, with an idol handsomely dressed instead of the true David; if we shall content and please ourselves with being of such or such a sect or profession; with going to church, saying or hearing of prayers, receiving of sacraments, hearing, repeating, or preaching of sermons, with zeal for ceremonies, or zeal against them; or indeed with any thing besides constant piety towards God; loyalty and obedience towards our sovereign; justice and charity towards all our neighbours; temperance, chastity, and sobriety towards ourselves; certainly we shall one day find, that we have not mocked God, but ourselves; and that our portion among hypocrites shall be greater than theirs.

In the next place, let me entreat you to consider the fearful judgment which God hath particularly threatened to this very sin, of *drawing nigh unto him with our lips, when our hearts are far from him:* it is the great judgment of being given over to *the spirit of slumber and security,* the usual forerunner of speedy desolation and destruction, as we may see in the xxixth chap. of Isaiah, from the 9th to the 14th verse, *Stay yourselves and wonder; cry ye out, and cry: they are drunken, but not with wine; they stagger, but not with strong drink. For the Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes:*

the prophets, and your rulers the seers, hath he covered: and after, at the 14th verse, *The wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid.* Certainly this judgment, if ever it were upon any people, we have cause to fear it is now upon us. For if the spirit of *deep sleep* were not upon us, how could we sleep so securely even upon the brink of the pit of perdition? How could we proceed on so confidently in our mirth and jollity, nay, in our crying sins and horrible impieties; now when the hand of God is upon us, and wrath is gone out, and even ready to consume us? And if the wisdom of our wise men were not perished, how were it possible they should so obstinately refuse the security offered of our laws, liberties, and religion, by the king's oath, by his execrations on himself and his posterity, in case he should violate it; by the oaths of all his ministers, not to consent to, or be instruments in, such a violation; by the so much desired triennial parliament, from which no transgressor can possibly be secure; and instead of all this security, seek for it by a civil war, the continuance whereof must bring us to destruction and desolation; or else he hath deceived us by whom we are taught, *that a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand?*

Now what was the sin which provoked this fearful judgment? What but that which I have laboured to convince you of, and to dissuade you from, even the sin of hypocrisy? As we may see at the thirteenth verse, *Wherefore saith the Lord, Forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear towards me is taught by the precepts of men: there-*

fore, behold, I will proceed to do a marvellous work amongst them; for the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, &c.

Consider, thirdly, what woes, and woes, and woes, our Saviour thunders out against the Scribes and Pharisees for their hypocrisy: *Woe be unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites;* and again and again, *Woe be unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!* Beloved, if we be hypocrites, as they were, *tithe mint and cummin, and neglect the weighty matters of the law, judgment, and justice, and mercy*, as they did; *make long prayers, and under a pretence devour widows' houses*, as they did; *wash the outside of the dish and platter, while within we are full of ravening and wickedness;* write God's commandments very large and fair upon our phylacteries, but shut them quite out of our hearts; *build the sepulchres of the old prophets, and kill their successors;* in fine, if we be like *painted sepulchres*, as they were, *outwardly garnished and beautiful, but within full of dead men's bones and rottenness;* we are then to make account, that all these woes belong to us, and will one day overtake us.

Consider, lastly, the terrible example of Ananias and Sapphira, and how they were snatched away in the very act of their sin; and that their fault was, (as the text tells us,) that *they lied unto God.* Beloved, we have done so a thousand thousand times: our whole lives (if sincerely examined) would appear, I fear, little less but a perpetual lie. Hitherto God hath been merciful to us, and given us time to repent; but let us not proceed still in imitating their fact, lest at length we be made partakers of their fall.

God of his infinite mercy prevent this in every one of us, even for his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake; by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory to the eternal Father, world without end. *Amen*.

SERMON II.

PSALM XIV. 1.

The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God.

IF you will turn over some few leaves, as far as the fifty-third Psalm, you shall not only find my text, but this whole Psalm, without any alteration, save only in the 5th verse, and that not at all in the sense neither. What shall we say? Took the Holy Spirit of God such especial particular notice of the sayings and deeds of a fool, that one expression of them would not serve the turn? or does the babbling and madness of a fool so much concern us, as we need to have them urged upon us once and again, and a third time in the third of the Romans? Surely not any one of us present here is this fool. Nay, if any one of us could but tell where to find such a fool as this, that would offer to say, though in his heart, *There is no God*, he should not rest in quiet, he should soon perceive we were not of his faction.

2. We that are able to tell David an article or two of faith, more than ever he was acquainted with! nay, more; can we with any imaginable ground of reason be supposed liable to any suspicion of atheism, that are able to read David a lecture out of his own Psalms, and explain the meaning of his own prophecies much clearer than himself, which held the pen to the Holy Spirit of God? Though we cannot deny but that in other things there may be found some spice of folly and imperfection in us: but it cannot be imagined, that we, who are almost cloyed with the heavenly manna of God's word, that can instruct our teachers,

and are able to maintain opinions and tenents, the scruples whereof not both the universities of this land, nor the whole clergy, are able to resolve; that it should be possible for us ever to come to that perfection and excellency of folly and madness, as to entertain a thought that *there is no God:* nay, we are not so uncharitable as to charge a Turk or an infidel with such an horrible imputation as this.

3. Beloved Christians, *be not wise in your own conceits:* if you will seriously examine the third of the Romans, (which I mentioned before,) you shall find that St. Paul, out of this Psalm and the like words of Isaiah, doth conclude the whole posterity of Adam (Christ only excepted) under sin and the curse of God: which inference of his were weak and inconcluding, unless every man of his own nature were such a one as the prophet here describes, and the same apostle in another place expresses, *even altogether without God in the world;* i. e. not maintaining it as an opinion which they would undertake by force of argument to confirm, that *there is no God:* for we read not of above three or four among the heathens, that were of any fashion, which went thus far; but such as, though in their discourse and serious thoughts they do not question a Deity, but would abhor any man that would not liberally allow unto God all his glorious attributes, yet in their hearts and affections they deny him; they live as if there was no God, having no respect at all to him in all their projects; and therefore indeed, and in God's esteem, become formally, and in strict propriety of speech, very atheists.

4. That this is most true, and that therefore many, who, because they are orthodox in opinion, have thereupon a great conceit of their faith towards God; yet, being strictly examined, shall be found to have built

such glorious buildings in show upon sand; or, which is worse, to have made *hay and stubble* (matter fit only for the fire) foundations of many golden hopes and glorious presumptions, must be shewed at large hereafter.

5. The words now read are a secret confession which the fool whispers to his own heart: he neither can nor dare profess this openly; and when he calls his reason to counsel about this business, the question is far otherwise stated. The words do not run thus, The fool, being convicted by evidence of reason and demonstration, hath concluded, *There is no God:* no, this is no heathenish philosophical fool; he is quite of another temper: this is a worldly, proud, malicious, projecting, wise fool; a fool that knows it is for his advantage to put God out of his thoughts; and therefore doth forcibly captivate and wilfully hoodwink his understanding; and thinks he hath obtained a great victory, if he can contrive any course to bring himself to that pass, that no cold melancholy thoughts of God or hell may interrupt or restrain him from freely wallowing in the lusts and uncleanness of his heart, without any remorse, without any reluctance or griping within him. It is for his heart's sake, the love that he bears to the lust thereof, that makes him an atheist: if it could stand with that course and trade of life that he is resolved upon, to entertain contrary thoughts, he would as soon work his judgment and thoughts another way. And therefore in his open profession it sometimes falls out, that even when he wishes there were no God, yet he is a very forward zealous acknowledger in general of God and his glorious attributes: so that the same desire of a quiet and uninterrupted enjoying the scope and freedom of the lusts and affections of his heart, makes him both a

resolute secret atheist, and withal wise enough to keep his folly to himself, and to make none else acquainted with his curious art and method of such woful self-deceiving but his dearly beloved heart: *The fool* &c.

6. The discussion of these words does not engage me to a dividing or descanting upon the whole Psalm. Let it suffice, that we may most probably conceive, that David, in this Psalm, intends the description of the woful estate of that kingdom after God had taken away his good Spirit from Saul; wherein the secret enemies of God did greedily lay hold on that occasion to vex and despite, and, as much as was in their power, to lay waste the heritage of God.

7. *The fool* (who is the person that through the whole Psalm works all the mischief) in the original is *nabal*, which hath the signification of *fading*, *dying*, or *falling away*, as doth a leaf or flower, Isa. xl. 8; and is a title given to the foolish man, as having lost the juice and sap of wisdom—reason, honesty, and godliness; being fallen from grace, ungrateful, and without the life of God; as a dead carcass, (which of this word is called *nebalah*, Lev. xi. 40,) and therefore ignoble and of vile esteem, opposed to the noble man, Isa. xxxii. 5. The apostle, in Greek, turneth it *imprudent*, or *without understanding*, Rom. x. 19. from Deut. xxxii. 21.

8. *Hath said in his heart, There* &c.; i. e. not so much persuadeth himself in secret that *there is no God;* but rather expresseth so in his life or in his affections, which are called *the heart* in the phrase of God; proportionable to the same expression of David, Psalm x. 4, *The wicked through the pride of his countenance will not seek after God: God is not in all his crafty purposes.* If you would have the full sense of my text more largely expressed, turn to Tit.

i. 16, where persons of the same mould that the prophet here complains of are thus described: *They profess that they know God; but in works they deny him, being abominable, and disobedient, and unto every good work void of judgment.*

9. Where are observable, first, the cause of this practical atheism, in these last words of the verse, *theyw ere to every good work* ἀδόκιμοι, and that was *ignorance*, or rather *imprudence, inconsiderance;* implying not a bare want of knowledge, but an abusing thereof, in not reducing it to practice, in hiding the light which was in them under a bushel. Secondly, then we have the manner of the expression of this atheism, viz. not in words or in opinion to deny God, but, which is worse, in the carriage and course of our life; to allow him his attributes, and yet not to fear him, not to stand in awe of his power, which he acknowledgeth to be infinite; to distrust his providence, to slight his promises, neglect his threatenings; which is in effect as much as in him lieth to tear and ravish from him all his glorious attributes, by living as if God himself were less powerful, less wise than himself, improvident, not deserving so much fear of his power, or respect to his command, as he would perform to a wretched mortal man, that is a little richer, or in some place of authority above him.

10. I need travel no further for a division to my own text. Here we may observe likewise, first, the cause of atheism, and, by consequence, all the abominable impieties that follow in the Psalm; and that is, ignorance, indiscretion, inconsiderance, expressed in the person of *nabal, the fool.* Secondly, we have the expression of it, not by word of mouth or writing, but *per motum cordis*, by the inclination of the heart or affections.

11. In the prosecution of the former part (which may very well take up and spend this hourglass) I shall proceed thus: First, I will consider wherein this folly consists, and that it is not so much in an utter ignorance of God and his holy word, as a not making a good use of it when it is known, a suffering it to lie dead, to swim unprofitably in the brain, without any fruit thereof in the reformation of one's life and conversation: and there I will shew you the extreme folly for a man to seek to increase his knowledge of his master's will, without a desire and resolution to increase proportionably in a serious active performance thereof. Secondly, I will propose to your consideration the extreme unavoidable danger, and increase of guilt, that knowledge without practice brings with it. To both which considerations I shall severally annex applications to the consciences of you, my hearers, and so spend out my time.

12. Now I take it for granted, that I have hit right in declaring wherein the folly of *nabal* in my text consists, namely, in an unfruitful knowledge, a knowledge that lies fallow, is not exercised; which if it were not allowed me, I would only refer myself for proof unto some of David's psalms, and almost all his son's proverbs. I should sin against the plenty of matter in my text more worth our consideration, if I should enlarge myself in this point: only one place of David shall suffice, and that is in Psalm cxi. 10. where he repeats that old Divine proverb made by God himself, the Lord knows how long since, and by him delivered to man, as Job telleth us, chap. xxviii. ver. 28. The Psalmist's words are these: *The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom, and a good understanding have all they that do thereafter.*

13. I do not now exclude ignorance from making

up some part of this fool; but because the other piece of extreme desperate folly is rather the sin of these days, namely, a barren uneffectual knowledge, therefore I shall rather insist upon it: yet, by the way, I shall not fail to discover to you the danger of the other too.

14. It is a pretty observation that the author of the narration of the English seminary founded in Rome has, concerning the method and order the Devil has used in assailing and disturbing the peace and quiet of the church with heresies and schisms. "He began," saith he, "with the first article of our Creed, concerning one God, the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth; against which, in the first 300 years, he armed the Simonians, Menandrians, Basilidians, Valentinians, Marcionites, Manichees, and Gnostics. After the 300th year he opposed the second article concerning the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, by his beloved servants the Noetians, Sabellians, Paullians, Photinians, and Arians. After the 400th year he sought to undermine the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh articles, of the incarnation, passion, resurrection, ascension, and the second coming to judgment, by the heresies of Nestorius, Theodorus, Eutyches, Dioscorus, Cnapheus, Sergius, &c. After the 860th he assailed the eighth article concerning the Holy Ghost, by the heresy and schism of the Greek church. Lastly, since the year 1000, till these times, his business and craft has especially expressed itself in seeking to subvert the ninth and tenth, concerning the holy catholic church, and forgiveness of sins, by the aid and ministry of the Pontificians, Anabaptists, Familists, and the like; and with the deceits and snares of these his cunning ministers hath he entangled the greatest part of the now Christian world."

15. But (our blessed and gracious God be praised for it!) we, and some with us, have escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler; the net was broken, and we were delivered. The whole doctrine of Christian faith is restored to the primitive lustre and integrity: nay more, (which is a greater happiness than God ever created to those his chosen good servants which lived in the infancy of the church,) the profession of a pure unspotted religion is so far from being dangerous or infamous, that we have the sword of the civil magistrate, the power and enforcement of the laws and statutes, to maintain this our precious faith without stain and undefiled, against all heretical and schismatical oppugners thereof.

16. If ever we forget the goodness and mercy of God in this our deliverance, then let our tongues cleave to the roof of our mouths: nay, if in our songs of joyfulness and melody we remember not our escape, wherewith the Lord snatched us out of Egypt, and our victorious passage through a Red sea of blood and ruin, thou, O Lord, wilt not hear our prayers.

17. It was a seasonable admonition that the apostle St. Paul gave to other Gentiles after such a glorious victory and deliverance as this of ours, *Be not high-minded but fear* [a]. Heresy is not the only engine that Satan is furnished with to assault and infest the church of Christ, neither is it the most dangerous: he has the cunning to destroy foundations, and make no use of heresy in the work neither. You would wonder how it should be possible for the Devil to make an orthodox Christian, one perfect and studied in all the points of the Creed, and one that can for a need maintain the truth thereof against all gainsayers; I say, it would seem strange for the Devil to make such a one to de-

[a] Rom. xi. 20.

stroy and utterly demolish the very foundations of his faith, and yet not at all to alter his opinions neither: yet, that it is not only a possible contrivance, but too, too ordinary and familiar in these times, woful experience hath made it evident.

18. The art and cunning whereby this great work of the Devil's is brought about, is clearly detected by our Saviour in his exposition of the parable of the sower, in these words: *When they have heard, then cometh the Devil, and taketh away the word out of their hearts*[b]; i. e. the Devil will give such people leave freely to hear the word of God preached, to study it, dispute it, to know and be acquainted with all the curious intricate subtleties of it, upon condition that they will promise to resolve not to be a jot the better disposed for it in their lives. He can well suffer it to swim in the brain, that the understanding should be enlightened, the fancy affected and pleased with it, so that he may have leave to stop the secret intercourse and passages thence to the heart: it troubles him not to have the precious seed of the word entertained by a man, so that it may be kept up safe in granaries, and not multiply; so that the heart be not ploughed up and furrowed for the receiving of it; as long as there is no fruitful harvest there, all goes well.

19. He will be so far from hindering such from going to the church, so that their errand be to learn what they may be able to talk of, and maintain discourse with, that he could wish every day were a Sunday for them, that they might be able, by abundance of knowledge, fruitless and void of practice, to hasten and aggravate their own damnation.

20. Now whom the Devil thus uses, whom he thus baits, nay contents and satisfies with an empty, specu-

[b] Luke viii. 12.

lative, aërial knowledge, a knowledge only fruitful in increasing their guilt and torment, who can deny to be sottish, ignorant, easy fools, childishly affected with a knowledge, glorious only in show, without any substance or depth at all? And yet this was a temptation strong enough for paradise; for just so did the Devil entrap Adam at the first; so that in him we have received one foil already, at this weapon: and he proceeds daily in acting that over again. For what was it which destroyed Adam, but the preferring of the tree of knowledge before the tree of life?

21. St. James[c], speaking of such persons so ensnared, seems to take much of the envy and guilt of so cruel deceit and cozenage as this is from off the Devil, and to lay it upon themselves: *Be not hearers of the word only, but doers also, deceiving yourselves.* He confesses such to be fools, cozened and deceived people; but themselves, saith he, are their own cheaters; wherein lies a strong emphasis, expressing the extreme unhappiness of such poor deceived wretches. If the cunning insinuation of one, that for his own ends pretends friendship to me, draw me into some inconvenience or danger, the world will think me a fool for being so catched, and not being able to dive and pierce into his secret purposes: but this folly is not of so perfect a strain, but that it may deserve both excuse and pity. But that man that spends his whole life in contriving and plotting, and laying snares for his own soul; if after all this ado he be indeed caught in the pit, that with so much pains he digged only for himself, would not any man forfeit his discretion that should either excuse or pity him? And in such, or worse a case, is he that contents himself with bare hearing and knowing the word.

[c] James i. 22.

22. Who do you think would undertake to excuse a Pharisee, if he should be condemned for want of spiritual wisdom; one whose profession it was, whose trade and course of life, to be conversant in the scriptures; who had spent his age in reading the holy writ, and teaching others out of it; one that was so curious in having the scripture always near him, that he wore it continually about him; it was a trimming and ornament to his apparel; it was always in his eyes; it was girded about the wrists of his arms, and instead of a lace or fringe at the bottom of his garment? If one, after all this curiosity of dressing, sedulity in reading, industry in teaching, should at length with so good parts, in such good clothes, go down into hell, and so die for want of true knowledge, who would adventure to excuse him, who would dare to pity him?

23. Yet not one or two, but the whole college, the whole faction of them, you shall find, in Matt. xxiii, very near the end, no less than eight woes denounced against them by our Saviour himself, (who is not very forward to destroy; he came upon a far other business,) and all those woes for their folly and blindness. In the denouncing of every woe but one, he styles them *hypocrites* (and an hypocrite, you know, is the veriest fool in the world; for he thinks to cozen and put a cheat upon God, whom yet himself confesses to be omniscient, and who knoweth all things): in that single woe he calls them *blind guides*, elsewhere *fools and blind*. This was our Saviour's judgment of them, and you may rest upon it that it was upon sufficient grounds.

24. But their folly and ridiculous madness will yet more appear, if you take notice of the opinion and judgment that these very Pharisees gave of themselves: it is in John vii. 48, 49. The occasion of it was this; the great council of the sanhedrin, seeing so many of

the ignorant people (as they thought) seduced by our Saviour, to remedy any further spreading of so dangerous a contagion, they by common advice send officers to attach him, and to make him sure enough for preaching. The officers find him busy, instructing the people; and instead of laying hands on him, themselves are even caught, and almost bereft of their infidelity. When sermon was done, they return to their masters, the rulers and Pharisees, without their prisoner, and give a good account why they did not fulfil their command, in telling them, they never heard a better preacher in their lives: *Never man*[d], say they, *spake like this man.* These wise magistrates, pitying the simplicity and easiness of their sergeants, answer them thus: *Are ye also deceived? Have any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believed on him?—But this people who knoweth not the law are cursed*[e]: implying, that if the people had been as well read in the law of God as their teachers were, they would have kept themselves safe enough from the ensnaring sermons of Christ. But now they may see what difference there is between men utterly unacquainted with God's word, and themselves; how subject they are to destruction, and to be cursed of God.

25. How is it possible for the wit of man to imagine folly and madness of a more perfect strain! Our Saviour Christ, who is truth itself, did not exact faith from his followers merely for his miracles' sake, but sent them to search the scriptures; *for they*, saith he, *testify of me*[f]. And yet these wise men impute it to their knowledge of the law, that they were freed from this curse, into which the poor ignorant people fell. How cunningly have these fools laid a snare for their own lives!

[d] John vii. 46. [e] Verse 47, 48, 49. [f] John v. 39.

26. Alas! what could the poor people think, when they heard their doctors and magistrates (men that were gods to them, that sat in Moses' chair) condemned of such extreme folly and indiscretion! What will become of us, might they say, if the Pharisees (from whom all that we know is but a thin thrifty gleaning) have so many woes denounced against them for want of spiritual knowledge?

27. Certain it was, there were many poor souls whom the Pharisees kept out of heaven for company. Our Saviour tells them so much; *ye neither go into heaven yourselves, nor suffer others to go in:* but they were such as they had infected with their leaven; such as made those rotten superstructions which those great doctors built upon the word, foundations of their faith and hope. And as certain it is, that many there were, upon whom God, out of his gracious favour and mercy, had not bestowed such piercing brains, and inquiring heads, as to make them acquainted with their dangerous opinions and traditions. They were such as made better use of that little knowledge they had, than to vent it in discourse, or in maintaining opinions and tenets against the church. They heard the word with an humble honest heart, submitting themselves wholly to it, and restored their faith to its proper seat, the heart and affections; and it was fruitful in their lives and practice. The wisdom of Solomon himself, as long as he gave himself to idolatry and luxury, was folly and madness, to the discretion and prudence of these poor despised people.

28. Thus you see, *the fool*, that in my text is so mad as to say *There is no God*, may have wit enough to understand more; nay, in the opinion of the world, may make a silly fool of him that has laid up in his heart unvaluable treasures of spiritual wis-

dom and knowledge. And therefore the Latin translation, following St. Paul, might more significantly have styled him *imprudens* than *insipiens*. For the wisdom which is according to godliness doth most exactly answer to that prudence which moral philosophers make a general overruling virtue, to give bounds and limits to all our actions, and to find out a temper and mean wherein we ought to walk: and therefore a most learned divine of our church, yet alive, knew very well what he said, when he defined our faith to be a spiritual prudence; implying, that faith bears the same office and sway in the life and practice of a Christian, as prudence of a moral honest man.

29. Now, saith Aristotle, there may be many intemperate, youthful, dissolute spirits, which may have an admirable, piercing, discerning judgment in speculative sciences, as the mathematics, metaphysics, and the like; because the dwelling upon such contemplations does not at all cross or trouble those rude untamed passions and affections of theirs; yea, they may be cunning in the speculative knowledge of virtues: but all this while they are, notwithstanding, utterly, invincibly imprudent; because prudence requires not only a good discerning judgment and apprehension, but a serenity and calmness in the passions.

30. Therefore the same philosopher does worthily reprehend some ancients, who called all virtues sciences; and said, that each particular virtue was a several art, requiring only an enlightening or informing of the reason and understanding, which any, for a little cost, and small painstaking, in frequenting the learned lectures of philosophers, need not doubt but easily to obtain.

31. This conceit of so learned a man does very well deserve our prosecution; and it will not be at all

swerving from the business in hand: therefore I shall shew you how the moralist, by the force of natural reason, hath framed to himself a divinity and religion, resembling, both in method and many substantial parts, the glorious learning of a Christian. I told you, the forenamed doctor did very well to call our faith, or assent to supernatural mysteries, "a spiritual prudence."

32. Now besides moral prudence, nay, before the moralist can make any use thereof, or exercise it in the work of any virtue, there is required another general virtue, which the philosopher calls *universal justice*, which is nothing else but a sobriety and temper in the affections, whereby they are subdued and captived unto well-informed reason; so that whatsoever it commands to be done, there is no rebellion, no unwillingness in the passions, but they proceed readily to execution, though it be never so distasteful to sense.

33. Now how well does this express the nature of charity: for what else is love, but a sweet breathing of the Holy Spirit upon our passions, whereby the Holy Ghost does, as it did in the beginning of Genesis, *incubare aquis*, move by a cherishing, quieting virtue, upon the sea of our passions? Did not the same Spirit come to Elijah in a soft whisper? He walks not *in turbine*, in a strong wind, to raise a tempest in our affections. Now when we have received this *ipsissimam Dei particulam*, (as Plato said of the soul,) this shred or portion of the Holy Spirit, which is charity, how evenly and temperately do we behave ourselves to God, and all the world besides! how willingly and obediently do we submit ourselves to the performance of whatsoever faith, out of God's word, doth enjoin us!

34. But yet the analogy and proportion between

these two is more evident and observable: that universal justice is no particular singular virtue, neither hath it any particular singular object (as other virtues have; for example, temperance or abstinence, which hath to do with sensual delights and pleasures, and none else); but when it is determined to and fastens on the object of a particular virtue, it is converted into, and incorporates with that very virtue: for example, if I do exercise this general habit of observing a mean and temper in things that concern diet or sensual pleasures, it becomes abstinence; if upon objects of terror, it becomes fortitude or magnanimity: just so is it with charity. For,

35. Charity is a virtue which never goes alone, and is busied in solitary places, being reserved and excluded from the society and communion of other graces: but it is that which seasons, gives life and efficacy to all the rest; without which, if it were possible for me to enjoy all the graces that the bountiful hand of God ever showered upon a reasonable creature, yet, if St. Paul speak truth, I should be nothing worth: it is that which fulfils all the commandments. This is evident to all that shall but slightly and in haste read over 1 Cor. xiii. beginning with verse 4. and so onwards; where we may behold almost all the virtues that can be named, enwrapped in one virtue of charity and love, according to the several acts thereof, changed and transformed into so many several graces: *it suffereth long*, and so it is longanimity; *it is kind*, and so it is courtesy; *it vaunteth not itself*, and so it is modesty; *it is not puffed up*, and so it is humility; *it is not easily provoked*, and so it is lenity; *it thinketh no evil*, and so it is simplicity; *it rejoiceth in the truth*, and so it is verity; *it beareth all things*, and so it is fortitude; *it believeth all things*, and so it is

faith; *it hopeth all things*, and so it is confidence; *it endureth all things*, and so it is patience; *it never faileth*, and so it is perseverance.

36. You see two glorious and Divine virtues, namely, faith and charity, though not naturally expressed, yet pretty well counterfeited by the moralist. And to make up the analogy complete, we have the third royal virtue, which is hope, reasonably well shadowed out in that which they call *intentio finis*; which is nothing else but a foretasting of the happiness which they propose to themselves as a sufficient reward for all their severe and melancholic endeavours.

37. What shall we say, my beloved friends? Shall the heathenish moralist, merely out of the strength of natural reason, conclude the knowledge of what is good and fit to be done, without a practice of it upon our affections and outward actions, to be nothing worth, nay, ridiculous and contemptible; and shall we, who have the oracles of God, nay, the whole perfect will of God, fully set down in the holy scriptures, in every page almost whereof we find this urged and pressed upon us, that to know our Master's will, without performing it, is fruitless unto us; nay, will intend the heat, and add virtue and power to the lake of fire and brimstone, reserved for such empty and unfruitful Christians; and shall we, I say, content ourselves any longer with bare hearing and knowing of the word, and no more? God forbid! rather let us utterly avoid this holy temple of God; let us rather cast his word behind our backs, and be as ignorant of his holy will as ever our forefathers were; let us contrive any course to cut off all commerce and intercourse, all communion and acquaintance with our God, rather than when we profess to know him, and willingly to allow him all those glorious titles and attri-

butes, by which he hath made himself known unto us in his word, in our hearts to deny him, in our lives and practices to dishonour him, and use him despitefully.

38. It were no hard matter, I think, to persuade any, but resolved hardened minds, that fruit is necessary before any admission into heaven, only by proposing to your considerations the form and process of that judgment to which you and every man in his own person must submit. The author's word may be taken for the truth of what I shall tell you; for the story we receive from his mouth that shall be Judge of all, and therefore is likely to know what course and order himself will observe.

39. In the general resurrection, when sentence of absolution or condemnation shall be passed upon every one according to his deserts, knowledge is on no side mentioned: but one, because he hath clothed the naked and fed the hungry, and done such-like works of charity, he is taken; and the rest, that have not done so much, are refused. Will it avail any one then to say, Lord, we confess we have not done these works, but we have spent many an hour in hearing and talking of thy word; nay, we have maintained to the utmost of our power, and to our own great prejudice, many opinions and tenets. Alas! we little thought that any spotted imperfect work of ours was requisite; we were resolved, that, for working, thou hadst done enough for us to get us to heaven. Will any such excuses as these serve the turn? Far be it from us to think so.

40. If you will turn to Matt. vii. 22. you shall find stronger and better excuses than these to no purpose. *Many shall say unto me*, saith Christ, *Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name?* These were something

more than hearers; they had spent their time in preaching and converting souls unto Christ, (which is a work, if directed to a right end, of the most precious and admirable value that it is possible for a creature to perform;) and yet, whiles they did not practise themselves what they taught others, they became castaways. Others there were *that had cast out devils, and done many miracles;* and yet so loved the unclean spirits that themselves were possessed withal, that they could not endure to part company then, and now were never likely.

41. But have not I all this while mistaken my auditory? Were not these instructions fitter for the universities? Had it not been more fit and seasonable for me to have instructed and catechized mine hearers, rather than to give them cautions and warnings, lest they should abuse their knowledge? No, surely! Instructions to make use of knowledge in our practice and conversation, and not to content ourselves with mere knowing and hearing and talking of the mysteries of our salvation, cannot in the most ignorant congregation be unseasonable. Even the heathen, which were utter strangers from the knowledge of God's ways, did notwithstanding render themselves inexcusable, for detaining some part of the truth, as it were, naturally ingrafted in them in unrighteousness. So that there is no man in the world but knows much more than he practises; every man hides some part, at least, of his talent in a napkin; wherefore let every man, even the most ignorant that hears me this day, search the most inward secret corners of his heart for this treasure of knowledge, and let him take it forth, and put it into the usurer's hands, and trade thriftily with it, that he may return his Lord his own with increase. *Blessed is that servant, whom his lord, when*

he cometh, shall find so doing: verily I say unto you, he shall make him ruler over all his household.

42. And thus I have gone through one member of my first general, namely, the consideration wherein the imprudence of the fool in my text doth consist. In the prosecution whereof I have discovered unto you, how severally Satan plants his engines for the subversion of the church. In the primitive times, when religion was more stirring and active, and charity in fashion, he assayed to corrupt men's understandings with heresies; and there, by the way, was observed his order and method, how distinctly beginning in those first times with the first article, he hath orderly proceeded to corrupt the next following; and now, in these last days, he is got to even the last end of the Creed. But since, by the mercy and goodness of God, we are delivered, and stand *firm in the faith once delivered to the saints*, he hath raised another engine against us that stand, and that is, to work that our orthodox opinions do us no good, which he performs by snatching the word out of our hearts, and making it unfruitful in our lives. Now those that are thus inveigled and wrought upon are merely befooled by the Devil, or rather by themselves; for so I told you that St. James says; and for an example I proposed the learned Pharisees, who, for all their learning and knowledge in the scripture, yet our Saviour denounceth eight several woes against them for being fools and blind guides. So that the fool in hand was not opposed to a learned man, but to a prudent man; and therefore a worthy doctor of our church did well define faith to be a spiritual prudence, that is, a knowledge sought out only for practice. And there I compared faith with moral prudence, and the fruit thereof,

charity, with the virtue of universal justice. Therefore, lest the very heathen should rise up in judgment against us, for not doing so much, with the help and advantage of God's word, as they could without it; I did and do beseech you, not to content yourselves with mere knowing and hearing, with only a conceit of faith without works; for that was an ancient heresy in the Nicolaitans (whom God by name professed a hatred to, as Eusebius tells us). And for an effectual motive, I told you how, at the last great trial, you shall not be catechized how well you can say your Creed, or how many Catechisms without book, but how fruitful in works of charity your faith hath been. And so I come to the second member of the first general, namely, the consideration how dangerous and grievous a burden knowledge will be, where it is fruitless and ineffectual; of which briefly.

43. I will once again repeat that Divine sentence of the Psalmist in Psalm cxi. 10. *The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom: and a good understanding have all they that do thereafter;* i. e. till a man put his knowledge in practice, he is so far from being a good man, that he is scarce a man, hath not the understanding of a man till he do, till he fall at work: he was wiser a great deal before he gained his knowledge. Knowledge alone is a goodly purchase in the mean time; it is so worthy a purchase, that, as it should seem by our Saviour's account, till a man have obtained some competency in knowledge, he hath gotten no right to the kingdom of darkness and hell.

44. For, certainly, no man can justly challenge damnation but he that is burdened with sin: now he that hath no knowledge, but is utterly blind in his understanding, hath no sin, that is, in comparison. The words are, John ix. 39, &c. *And Jesus said, For*

judgment I am come into this world, that they which see not might see; and that they which see might be made blind: not as if Christ did imprint or inflict blindness upon any man, but only occasionally; that is, those which walk in darkness, and love it, when the light comes upon them, and discovers their wandering, they hate it, and turn their eyes from it, and become more perversely and obstinately blind. In the same sense that St. Paul saith, Rom. vii. *Sin, taking occasion by the law, becomes more sinful:* whilst sin is not opposed, it goes on in its course quietly; but when the commandment comes, and discovers and rebukes it, it becomes furious and abominable, and much more raging and violent.

45. There follows, *And some of the Pharisees which were with him heard these words, and said unto him, Are we blind also*[a]? There is nothing in the world that a Pharisee can with less patience endure, than to hear any intimation given that he may be suspected of folly; and therefore they were not so sensible or conceited of some wrong received, when our Saviour called them *generation of vipers*, as they are when their wisdom and discretion are called in question. Witness this answer; when no man spake to them, they suspiciously demand, whether Christ, in his last words, meant them or no. But what answers our Saviour?

46. *Jesus said unto them, If ye were blind, ye should have no sin: but now ye say, We see; therefore your sin remaineth*[b]. As if he had said, So little shall this supposed knowledge and wisdom that ye have profit you, that you shall curse the time that ever you saw the holy word of God, and wish that all the sermons

[a] Verse 40. [b] Verse 41.

that ever you have heard, all the gracious invitations and sweet promises which God, by the ministry of his servants the prophets, hath sent unto you, had been sentences of some horrible death and torments from the mouth of a severe judge: for your sins, which otherwise had not been so insupportable, now, by your abusing the knowledge which God hath given you, by your wilful contempt of those many invitations which have continually sounded in your ears, are become as a mountain upon you, to crush you into powder. You have hanged a millstone about your own necks, which shall irrecoverably sink you into the bottomless, comfortless pit, whereas otherwise there might have been some hope of escape.

47. And yet for all this, let not any one favour and cherish himself in this conceit, that he thanks God he is ignorant enough, that a very little practice will serve his turn, his knowledge is not so much, that it should put him to too great a labour in expressing it in the course of his life; for whosoever he be, that dares entertain or give way to such a thought as this is, let him be sure that if he do not know so much as God requires at his hands, (especially now that God hath sealed up the scripture canon, now that the whole will of God is revealed,) this very ignorance alone will be a thousand weights to fasten him to the earth, to make him sure for ever ascending to God, in whom there is no darkness at all.

48. For it is not so with an ignorant man as it is with one that is blind, who, if he will be sure not to tempt God, by venturing and rushing forward in paths unknown to him, may live as long and as safe as he that is most quicksighted: no; ignorance alone, though it be not active and fruitful in works of darkness, is crime enough. For with what colour of reason will

such an one expect the reward of the just? Such an one will not doubt, but that the gates of heaven are barred against the sottish, blind, ignorant heathen, to whom God never revealed any part of his will; yet himself may fare well enough. Is not this a degree beyond madness itself? What! does such an one think, that because he lives among religious people, and such as are well acquainted with the way to heaven, that himself shall be sure to go for company? Does he make no doubt of his part in the resurrection of the just, because he was born in England, or in such a year of our Lord, when the gospel flourished? Nay, shall it not be much more tolerable for the worst of heathens than for such a man?

49. For if the heathens were left without excuse, because they knew not God, or if they knew him, they did not honour him as God, whereas they were only instructed by the book of nature; the very main principle of all religion, namely, that there is a God, was a business of great labour, and required a good understanding to find out, being a conclusion to be collected and deduced from many experiments of his power, providence, and the like: shall those hope to escape that pretend ignorance, after they may, if they refuse it not, have use of all that ever reason found out; nay, have before their eyes the sum and effect of all the sermons and instructions that ever any prophet or apostle made since the world began? If after all this there be any safety to be hoped for from ignorance, then have the apostles travelled, Christ preached, nay died, in vain.

50. But to return to our business in hand. Knowledge, at least in some measure, there must necessarily be, else no hope of salvation; and with knowledge there must of necessity be joined some proportionable

measure of practice, else a greater and more insupportable burden of woe and destruction. And the reason is evident out of those words of our Saviour, *to whom much is given, of him shall much be required.* We must know that there is not any good thing in the world wherein we have any propriety; we are only stewards, and have such things committed to our trust, and one day there will certainly be exacted a strict account, as of our riches, health, education, but much more our knowledge, and especially that knowledge which is perfected only in practice: such is the wisdom of a Christian.

51. What reason can be imagined why God should take such pains, give such royal and precious graces to his servants the prophets and apostles, to enable them to make known his good-will and pleasure, and what he commands us and expects at our hands? Was all this performed, think we, to afford us only matter of table-talk? Does he exhort and persuade us to hear and discourse? No, surely; he gave it us to profit withal both ourselves and others. And therefore where there is a more abundant plenty of knowledge lent us, the bill of account must arise proportionably, or for what is wanting in the sum we remain debtors; and when *once the creditor catches us by the throat, and casts us into prison, there is no coming out till all, even the uttermost farthing, be discharged:* he might well have said never; for it comes all to one end.

52. It will be worth our consideration, and very material to press this so necessary a point, to take notice of the nature and fashion of the judgment which shall befall the fool in my text, and such companions of his as are content to enjoy a fruitless ineffectual knowledge, how fit and suitable it is to their offence. You shall find it expressed in Luke xiii. 26, &c. in these

terms; *Many in that day shall begin to say, We have eaten and drunk in thy presence, and thou hast taught in our streets:* this is something more than hearing sermons, or learning catechisms by heart. These had heard him preach, nay were familiarly acquainted with him; and yet in that day will get but a comfortless answer from him in the following verse; *but he shall say, I tell you, I know not whence you are; depart from me, ye workers of iniquity.* St. Matthew hath it more sharply, *I never knew you.* They might else have imputed his not knowing them to the weakness of his memory: but he stops that conceit, and professes, he never knew them, i. e. he denies not but he had often seen them at sermon when he preached; and, it may be, he had eaten and drunk with them; yet for all this he never knew them, they were strangers to him, he never acknowledged them to be his flock, and therefore was not bound to take notice of them: but there is one will own them, even Satan, whom before they acknowledged for their lord, and to his kingdom they may, nay they must go.

53. Are not these men right served? Are not they justly and righteously dealt withal? They had eaten and drunk in his presence, it is true; nay, peradventure they had eaten him and drunk him in his sacrament; they had oft heard him preach in their streets, and could for a need repeat a great deal of the substance of his sermons; but in very deed they never knew him, nor one word that ever he spoke; that is, they took no especial notice of him, they did not acknowledge him for their Lord, neither cared they to perform any thing that he commanded. And now he is quit with them, he remembers well enough what kind of people they were, even his very enemies and deriders; and as he never did acknowledge them for his sheep, so neither

now will he admit them into his fold. A most righteous, yet withal a most heavy doom.

54. And here I will briefly end my other member of the first general, namely, how dangerous and heavy a burden knowledge will be, where it is fruitless and ineffectual: where you have heard, how poor and worthless a purchase knowledge alone is, nay, how without it a man has scarce any title at all unto hell; there is no guilt without it: alone it is a good qualification, a fair towardly disposition towards our ruin. Our Saviour professes, that the Pharisees themselves, (a nation the very proverb of perverseness and infidelity,) if they had been blind, i. e. without knowledge, they had had no sin. Yet for all this, though knowledge be so dangerous a ware, (it is something like gunpowder, a man, when he has it, must take heed how he uses it,) yet this is by no means a sufficient excuse for any one utterly to neglect the purchase of it, at least in some measure: for it is true, knowledge not used, or ill used, will aggravate our torment, and adds even fire unto hell; yet withal it is true, that an utter neglect of all knowledge, especially in these times of light, when it is to be had at so cheap a rate, will make damnation as sure to a man as the former. Now the reason why knowledge, where it is fruitless in practice, will be abundantly fruitful in torment, is taken from that maxim of our Saviour, *To whom much is given, of him much shall be required;* i. e. we being only stewards of God's blessings, no proprietaries in them, must expect one day to give account for them all, but especially knowledge, which is a ware of the chiefest trade. Now where there are great receipts and no disbursements, the debt must needs be exceeding great; and when once the sergeant hath arrested us for it, the Lord knows when we shall pay it. The

last thing that I proposed to your thoughts was, the suitableness of the punishment that will attend such an offence: for the fool in my text, when he would give himself leave to think, knew well enough that there was a God, and that all his love and service was due to him; but these were melancholic thoughts, and such as would hinder him in the prosecution of his designed projects, and therefore he put them far from him; so that in effect, and in God's account, he was utterly ignorant of him, did not at all know him. Just so shall they be served. Christ knows all the world better than any man knows his own heart; yet in that great day he shall prove to be a very stranger, utterly ignorant of the greatest part of the world, though many of them had been his acquaintance here; nay, though through faith in his power, they had unawares by wonders and miracles brought many to heaven, and had been good helpers to destroy the infernal kingdoms, whereof before they were in affection, and now for ever must be inhabitants.

55. There remains the other main general, which is indeed the substance of the whole text, namely, the fruit of this folly; and that is atheism, not in opinion but practice. In the prosecution whereof, I shall mainly insist upon this, to demonstrate, by infallible deductions out of God's word, that men who profess religion, and a perfect knowledge of God, yet, whilst they allow him only the brain, and not (what he only desires) the heart and affections, may prove, in God's account, very atheists. Or, to bring it nearer home, I will shew how that many the ordinary courses and the most uncontrolled practices of men of this age do utterly contradict, and formally destroy, the very foundations and principles of the glorious religion which they profess. But this will require a much longer

time than your patience can allow me: therefore I will only add some few words of application of what hath been spoken, and so conclude.

56. That jewel which our Saviour so magnifies, (Matt. xiii.) and so commends the wisdom of the merchant for selling all, even utterly undoing himself, to purchase it, is the gospel of the kingdom of heaven: which though it be of most precious and inestimable value, worthy the selling of the whole world to buy it, yet is every man's money, every man has riches enough to adventure upon it, so he will but sell all that he has, so he will be content to turn bankrupt for it; and upon no other terms can he have it.

57. That advice which Christ gave the rich young man, that had a good mind to follow him, viz. that he should sell all that he had, and take up his cross, was not any extraordinary unusual trial, but we have all accepted the same offer upon the very same conditions: we must of necessity sell all, deny and renounce the keeping and possessing of any thing besides this pearl; we must even sell ourselves, deny and renounce our own souls; they are both become God's own, and we are but borrowers of them. Now if we be not masters of our goods nor of ourselves, neither then may we do our own actions, we must not think our own thoughts. They were such fools as this great notorious one in my text who in Psalm xii. say, *Our tongues are our own; we may say what we list.* We are all *bought with a price*, yea, all that we have is bought.

58. Yet though we must sell all, and deny our own selves, yet we need not part with our goods or riches, we need not make away ourselves. For example; when our Saviour says, *He that hateth not father and mother, and brethren and sisters*, and all the world besides, *for my name's sake, and the gospel's, is not*

worthy of me; this speech does not bind me to hate, persecute, and destroy all the kindred I have; no, but rather to love and honour them, to spend and be spent for them: yet if those persons, or if it be possible for aught else to be more dear and precious than they, stand in my way to hinder me from coming to Christ, then it is time for me to hate them, then I must trample them under my feet. So that a man is no more bound to sell his goods, that is, to throw them away, than he is to hate his parents; only neither of them may by any means offend us, or annoy us, in our journey to Christ.

59. Now to bring this home to our purpose: Can any face be so impudent as to profess he hath already sold all, himself to boot, and is ready to part with them when God shall call for them, who contents himself only with knowing and hearing stories of him, and reserves his heart to his own use, which is all that God requires? Can he with any reason in the world be said to sell all for the gospel of Christ, that sees Christ himself, every day almost, hungry, and does not feed him; naked, and does not clothe him; in prison, and does not visit him? For, inasmuch as they do not these offices of charity to his beloved little ones, they deny them to him. Will he be found to be worthy of Christ, that for his sake will not renounce one delightful sin, which an heathen would easily have done, only for the empty reward of fame? that for his sake will not forgive his brother some small injury received, nay, perhaps some great kindness offered, as a seasonable reproof, or loving dissuasion from sinning; that for his sake will not undergo the least trouble in furthering his own salvation?

60. Far from us, beloved Christians, be so barren a profession, a profession having only the vizard and

form of godliness, but denying the power thereof! No; let us, with thankful hearts and tongues, recount and consider what God hath done for our souls; how he hath given us his word, abundantly sufficient to instruct us; how he hath spoken the word, and *great is the multitude of preachers.* Yet withal let us consider that it is in our power to turn these unvaluable treasures of God's favours into horrible curses. Let us consider how God hath sent out his word, and it will not return unto him empty; it will be effectual one way or other, it will perform some great work in us. God doth but expect what entertainment it finds upon earth, and will proportion a reward accordingly: on them which *detain the truth in unrighteousness* he will *rain snares, fire and brimstone;* but to such as, "with meek hearts and due reverence," *receive it into good ground,* and express the power thereof in their lives, there remaineth an exceeding eternal weight of joy and glory. *Let us therefore walk as children of the light,* and not content ourselves with a bare empty profession of religion: *let him that* but *nameth the name of the Lord depart from iniquity.* Brethren, *consider what I say, and the Lord give you understanding in all things!* To God, &c.

SERMON III.

PSALM XIV. 1.

The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God.

I WILL not be ashamed to be so far my own plagiary, as for your sakes, that you may be the better able to go along with me in what remains of this text, briefly to discover unto you, how far I have already, in another auditory, proceeded in it.

2. First, therefore, I conceived (by attending to the course and series of the psalm, and by comparing this place with many others in holy scripture in different language, expressing the same sense) that this *fool* in my text was not a man utterly ignorant and devoid of the knowledge of God and his word: for he is supposed by the Psalmist to be a man living within the pale of the church, and outwardly professing the true religion and worship of God. And thereupon, secondly, that his atheism was no heathenish, philosophical atheism, no problematical maintaining an opinion, that *there is no God;* for even among the very heathens we read not of above three or four of any account, which have proceeded to this excelling degree and height of impiety.

3. But this person (whether Doeg the Edomite, or whosoever he were) is such an one, as though in his profession and even serious thoughts, he do not question a Deity, but would be a mortal enemy to any one who should dare to deprive and rob Almighty God of any of his glorious attributes; yet, notwithstanding, in his heart (that is, in the phrase of the scripture,) in

the propension and inclination of his affections, and, by consequence, in the course and practice of his life, he denies and renounces God: he accounts the spending a little time in thinking and meditating on the providence or mercy or severity of God, to be an employment very ungainful and disadvantageous to him, a business likely to trouble and spoil many of his ungodly projects, and to hinder him in his fortunes; and for this reason he will put God far away from him; he will not suffer him to be (as the Psalmist saith, Psalm x. 4.) *in all his crafty purposes.*

4. I yet willingly confess, that this *saying in the heart, There is no God,* may reasonably be interpreted to be a secret whispering suggestion, an inward persuasion, by fits, which a wretched worldling may have, that since he has thrived so well by his carelessness in observing God's word, and obstinate opposing himself to his will, it may be possible there is indeed no God at all; or if there be, that he will not vouchsafe to descend so low as to take notice what is done here on earth, or to observe how each particular person behaves himself in this life. Now, because I will not set up one of these expositions against the other, I will hereafter, as occasion shall offer itself, make use of them both.

5. Having therefore conceived the sense of the text to be such as I have now told you; in the words I observed two general parts. First, the cause of atheism, and, by consequence, all the abominations following through the whole psalm, intimated in the person *nabal,* i. e. *the fool,* which is folly, i. e. ignorance, or rather incogitancy, inconsideration. Secondly, the effect of this folly, which is atheism, and that seated not in the brain, but in the heart or affections. I have already gone through the former part, namely, the cause

of atheism, which is folly; in the prosecution whereof, I endeavoured to discover wherein this folly doth consist: and that is not so much in an utter ignorance of God, and his holy word, as a not making a good use of it, when it is known; a suffering it to lie dead, to swim unprofitably in the brain, without any fruit thereof in the reformation of a man's life and conversation. And there I shewed, first, what extreme folly it was for a man to seek to increase the knowledge of his master's will, without a resolution to increase proportionably in a serious active performance thereof. And, secondly, the extreme unavoidable danger and increase of guilt, which knowledge without practice brings with it. To both which considerations I severally annexed applications to the consciences of them that heard me, and should have proceeded to—

6. The second general part; which is the effect and fruit of the folly or inconsideration of *nabal* (*the fool*) in my text, which is atheism practical, not of the understanding, but the will and affections. But the time being spent in the prosecution of the former general part, I was forced to reserve this second general to be the employment of another hour.

7. Only thus much I then made promise of, (which debt I purpose now to discharge to you,) namely, to demonstrate by infallible deductions out of God's word, that many who profess religion, and a perfect knowledge of God's word, yet whilst they allow him only the brain, and not (what he almost only requires) the heart and affections, may prove in God's account very atheists. Or, to bring it nearer home, I promised to shew how that many the ordinary courses and most uncontrolled practices of men of this age do utterly contradict, and formally destroy, the very foundations

and principles of that glorious religion which they profess. Of these, &c.

8. At the first sight, indeed, a man would think that of all the places in holy scripture, and of all the ages which have been since the world began, that this text and these times should suit worst together: for, first, if a man would strive with all the earnestness, and even spite, he could, in all the abominable odious colours to describe the worst of all human creatures, even the idolatrous, self-devouring Indians, what more horrible expression could he imagine to himself than to call them *fools*, and such *fools who say in their heart, There is no God?* Again, if we shall inquire and ask the former ages, if ever the world was so stored and even oppressed with knowledge; they will tell us, that the light was never a burden, nor knowledge a vice, before now. Never till now did all sorts and conditions of men pretend to be able to state the most intricate profound questions of our religion; never till now was Moses's wish fulfilled, *I would to God that all the people of the Lord were prophets;* though in a sense which would scarce have pleased him.

9. These things considered, were it not fit, think you, that I should renounce my text, or travel to find out a nation whom it may concern, and who have need to hear atheists condemned? I would to God (my beloved brethren) that whatsoever I shall speak against that fearful sin of atheism may prove vain unprofitable words, words which may return empty, having found none to fasten upon! I would to God that I might strive now as one that beateth the air, so that you (even you that know so much) were innocent! But David found this a doctrine fit to be pressed in his days, which were none of the worst neither: yea, he hath a second time, (in Psalm liii.) almost *in terminis*

terminantibus, repeated whatsoever he here speaks of the atheist: we find not such an example through the whole scripture, except it be in an history, or where the quotation is mentioned. Therefore, surely, it may be pertinent, and sometimes useful even in the church, to have atheism discovered, to have this doctrine preached and repreached; it was so in David's time; and it shall go hard but we shall shew that we ourselves, though never so wise and learned and knowing in our own opinion, yet that we also ought not to take it to heart, if sometimes we be suspected and challenged of atheism.

10. That temptation which the Devil found hard enough for himself, even when he was an angel of light, namely, *Ero similis Altissimo*, "I shall be like the Most Highest," now that it is his office and employment to become a tempter, he hath since scarce ever varied. At the first exercise of his trade with his first customers, Adam and Eve, he began with it: *Ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.* And if we shall impartially examine our own thoughts, we shall find almost in every suggestion at least some degree and tincture of atheism: either we do exalt and deify our own selves, or else we do dishonour, and in a manner degrade, Almighty God, deposing him from that sovereignty and sway, which he ought to exercise in our hearts and consciences.

11. This, I say, is true, in some measure, in all temptations, in all sins whatsoever there is some quantity of atheism, though the sins be but of an ordinary size and rank. But this is not that which I would now stand upon: it concerns me to shew, that though men be never so orthodox in their opinions, though they pretend to never so much zeal of the truth which they profess, yet unless that Divine truth be

powerful and persuasive enough to the performance and practice of such duties as bear a natural resemblance and proportion unto it; they that make such a profession of God's truth do but flatter themselves; they only think they believe, but indeed and in truth there is no such thing as faith in them. For we must know, that there is no Divine truth so utterly speculative, but that there naturally and infallibly flows and results from it (as necessarily as warmth from light) a duty to be practised and put in execution; insomuch that it is impossible for a man to be truly persuaded of the one, but he shall infallibly be persuaded to the other: so that *he which saith, he knoweth God, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him*, 1 John ii. 4. And this I shall endeavour to confirm by induction, examining the truth and reality of our assent to the chief fundamental points of our religion by our practices answerable thereto, and concluding, that where the latter is not to be found, it is but a vain persuasion and fantastical illusion for a man to think he hath the former.

12. But in the first place, that we may be the better able, and without interruption proceed in this designed course, I will first remove an objection which may seem to prevail against that which hath been spoken to this effect: *The devils* (as St. James saith[a]) *believe and tremble:* they do indeed assent unto the truth of all the mysteries of our salvation: in the place of St. James they acknowledge one God; in Matt. viii. 29. they acknowledge the second article of our faith, allowing Christ to be the Son of God; and the like may be said of the others following: and yet, if we examine their practice, how absolutely contradicting and warring is it with their profession! Therefore it

[a] Jam. ii. 19.

may seem, that where there is a firm assent to Divine truths, there may consist with it a contrary repugnant practice.

13. For answer therefore, we must know, that the assent which the Devil gives to the revelations of God is extremely different from that belief which is exacted of us Christians, and which every one of us (though never so vicious and irreligious) would gladly persuade ourselves that we allow unto God's word. For though, for example, the devils acknowledge the precepts and commandments of God to be holy and just and good, and most fit to be observed; as likewise, that to those who sincerely, and without hypocrisy, shall perform these commandments of God, the promises of God shall be *Yea and Amen*, they shall infallibly attain those joys, which exceed man's understanding to comprehend: yet these things to them are only as a tale which is told; or rather, they are to them occasion of horror and gnashing of teeth, that there should be such glorious comfortable things, which do nothing concern them, and of malice and hatred to those who have an interest in them, and are in a fair possibility of attaining unto them; and therefore no marvel if such a faith as this be barren and unfruitful of good works: whereas *our faith* (saith St. Paul, Heb. xi. 1.) *is the substance of things hoped for*, of things which concern us: we do not only acknowledge that the precepts of God are good, but also necessarily to be performed by us; and that the promises of God are not only desirable in themselves, but also that, being such, they were revealed for our sakes, and are infallibly destined unto us, when we shall have performed such conditions as may, by the assistance of God, be executed by us, even with ease and pleasure. Now wheresoever such persuasions as these are, it is impossible (even if

the devils themselves could be supposed capable of them) but that there should accompany them earnest and serious endeavours not to come short of the glory of God. This difficulty therefore being dissolved, I shall pursue the examination of our belief of the foundations of our religion by the fruits and issues of it in the practices of our lives.

14. We will begin with some of God's attributes: whosoever thou art that professest thyself a Christian, thou believest that God, whom thou servest, is present every where, both in heaven and earth, insomuch that it is altogether impossible for thee to exclude him from thy company; wheresoever thou goest, he will pursue thee; though thou shouldst clothe thyself with darkness, as it were with a garment, the darkness would be to him as the noonday; and though it were possible for thee to deceive the eyes and observation of men and angels, yea even of thine own conscience, yet to him thou wouldst be open and transparent, γυμνὸς καὶ τετραχηλισμένος, as it were, dissected, and having the very entrails exposed to his sight.

15. Thou canst hide therefore nothing which thou doest from his eyes; he taketh notice of every word which thou speakest, he hears even the very whispering of thy thoughts: and all this thou sayest thou acknowledgest. *Out of thy own mouth shalt thou be condemned, thou wicked servant:* darest thou then make thy Master a witness of thy rebellion and disobedience? When thou art about the fulfilling of any of thine ungodly lusts, thou retirest thyself from company, and art afraid of the faces of men; thou abhorrest the light, and yet darest outface him whose eyes are ten thousand times brighter than the sun. Thou wouldst not have the confidence to commit filthiness, if thy friend were in company; and yet

what injury is done to him by it? what commandment of his dost thou transgress in it? Or if thou didst, what power or authority has he over thee to punish thee? Thou wouldst be ashamed to commit such a sin, if thy servant were by, one whom thou art so far from being afraid of, that himself, his words, almost his very thoughts, are in thy power; nay, if a child were in company, thou wouldst not have the face to do it.

16. Thou canst not deny but respect to a friend, to a servant, even to a child, will withhold thee from such practices; and yet withal confessest, that Almighty God, whom thou professest to serve, to fear, and to love, that he all the while looks upon thee, and observes thee; his eyes are never removed from thee, and, which is worse, though thou mayest endeavour to forget and blot such actions out of thy remembrance, yet it is impossible he should ever forget them; he keeps a register of all thy sins, which no time shall ever be able to deface: and what will it then profit thee to live a close concealed sinner from the world, or to gain amongst men the reputation of a devout religious Christian, when in the mean time thine own heart and conscience shall condemn thee; nay, when Almighty God, *who is greater than thy heart, and knoweth all things*, when he shall be able to object unto thee all thy close ungodly projects, all thy bosom private lusts? Yea, when that conceit (wherein thou didst so much please thyself) of being able to delude and blind the observation of the world shall nothing avail thee; but whatsoever mischiefs thou hast contrived in thy closet, whatsoever abominations thou hast practised in thy bed, all these, with each aggravating circumstance, shall be discovered in the presence of all men, and angels, and devils; when Satan, whom

before thou madest an instrument and bawd unto thy lusts, to whose counsels and suggestions thou before wouldst only hearken, shall be the most forward and eager to appeach thee.

17. When thou art brought to such an exigent as this, (which without a timely unfeigned repentance, as sure as there is a God in heaven, thou shalt at last be brought to,) what will then thy orthodox opinions do thee good? What will it then profit thee to say, thou never didst maintain any impious dishonourable tenets concerning God, or any of his glorious attributes? Yea, how happy hadst thou been, if worse than the most ignorant heathenish atheist, no thought or consideration of God had entered into thy heart? For this professing thyself a Christian, rightly instructed in the knowledge of God, will prove heavier to thee than a thousand millstones hanged about thy neck, to sink thee into the bottom of that comfortless lake of fire and brimstone. For, for example, what a strange plea would it be for a murderer to say, I confess I have committed such or such a murder, but all the excuse which I can allege for myself is, that I was well studied in the laws which forbad murder, and I knew that my judge who tied me to the observance of this law, upon pain of death, was present, and observed me when I committed the fact? Surely it would be more tolerable for him to say, I never heard of any such law or judge; or, if I had been told of such things, I gave but little heed to the report, I did not at all believe it. For though this plea will be very insufficient to acquit the malefactor, yet it will be much more advantageous than the former; for what were that, but to flout the judge to his face, and to pretend a respectful worthy opinion, for this end, that his contempt and negligence in performing his commandments may be more extreme and

inexcusable, and, by consequence, without all hope or expectation of pardon? I need make no application of the example; the similitude doth sufficiently apply itself.

18. Therefore, if I were to advise any man, who is resolved by his practice to contradict that opinion, which he saith he hath of God, or that is not resolved to live with that reverence and awefulness due to the majesty of Almighty God, in whose presence he always is, I would counsel him not to believe himself, when he professes the omnipresence or omniscience of God; for without all contradiction, though by living in a nation where every one with whom he converses professeth so much, he may have learned to say, there is a God, and that this God is every where present, and takes particular notice of whatsoever is done in heaven and earth; yet if this notion were firmly rooted in his soul, as a matter of religion, as a business upon which depends the everlasting welfare of his soul and body, it is altogether impossible for him to continue in an habitual practice of such things as are evidently repugnant and destructive to such a conceit. For tell me, would any man in his right senses, when he shall see another drink down a poison which he knows will suddenly prove mortal unto him, I say, will any man be so mad as to believe such an one, though he should, with all the most earnest protestations that can be imagined, profess that he is not weary of his life, but intends to prolong it as long as God and nature will give him leave?

19. The case is altogether, in each point and circumstance, the same: for he which saith he believeth or assenteth to any doctrine, as a fundamental point of his religion, intends thus much by it, that he has bound himself in certain bonds unto Almighty God (for so the

very name of religion doth import) to expect no benefit at all from him, but upon condition of believing such Divine truths as it shall please him to reveal unto him, namely, as means and helps of a devout religious life, and worship of him; for God reveals nothing of himself to any man for this end to satisfy his curiosity, or to afford him matter of discourse or news; but to instruct him how he may behave himself here in this life, that he may attain those promises, which shall be fulfilled to those who sincerely and devoutly serve and obey him.

20. Therefore he that shall say I believe such a truth revealed by God, and yet lives as if he had never heard of such a thing, yea, as if he had been persuaded of the contrary, is as much to be believed as if he should say, I will drink a deadly poison to quench my thirst, or will stab myself to the heart for physic, to let out superfluous blood: so that that man who is not resolved to break off his wicked courses by repentance and conversion unto God, that lives as if the Devil only were every where, and he resolved to please and delight him with his ungodly life; let not such an one use himself to say, I believe that God is always present with me, and a spectator of my actions; for thereby he shall only add a lie to the rest of his sins, and fuel to the lake of fire and brimstone: he shall never persuade God to believe him, that he was of such an opinion; but that whatsoever his tongue said, and his fancy now and then apprehended, yet in his conscience he was always a constant resolved atheist, and *in his heart he said, There is no God.*

21. In the second place, thou acknowledgest that God, whom thou professest obedience to, is infinitely righteous, insomuch that it is impossible that he should not hate and abhor unrighteousness in whomsoever he

finds it; yea, so natural and essential is his justice unto him, that he should deny himself, if he should accept any man's person, if he should not be avenged on sin, if he should not most severely punish it. Thou canst not be ignorant how many vows and protestations he hath made almost every where through the holy scripture, of his hatred and indignation against sin, insomuch that heaven and earth may pass away, but not one jot or tittle of those curses and plagues shall fall to the ground, which he hath denounced against impenitent sinners.

22. And shall not thy own mouth here once again condemn thee, O thou wicked servant? Darest thou then every hour wilfully, and even contentedly, do such things as must certainly procure his anger and indignation against thee for ever? Wilt thou, for the sinful pleasure of a few minutes, put thyself in such a condition, that God must of necessity be angry with thee? that he must cease to be God, unless he hate and abhor thee? Certainly, if thou wouldst descend into thine own heart, if thou wouldst give thyself leave carefully and impartially to examine thy thoughts, thou wouldst find that thy tongue has given thy soul the lie, when it hath told thee that God is immutably just and righteous; and yet for all that, that thou art resolved to run on in such courses as must of necessity pull down his heavy displeasure against thee.

23. At least thou wilt find in thy heart earnest desires and wishes, that God were not so righteous as preachers tell thee he is. O—thinkest thou in thy heart—that God were such an unrighteous person as I am! O that he could be content to wink at me, when I am about the fulfilling of my ungodly desires! Alas! what harm is it to him, what inconvenience accrues to him by it, if I enjoy the sinful pleasures of this life?

Or if he will needs be angry, O that it were not in his power to revenge himself upon me! O that his power were not so unlimited as they say it is!

24. I know men will be apt to flatter themselves, though they be never so vicious, and to think that they are extremely wronged, to have such imputations laid upon them: they will be ready to answer me, in the words of Hazael to the prophet Elisha, when he told him what horrible massacres he should commit among the Israelites, when he should have the crown of Syria set on his head, *What! dost thou think us dogs, that we should do such things as these?* We are so far from robbing God of his justice, that we should be mortal enemies to any that dare proceed to that height of impiety; nay, we should be content to sacrifice our own lives, rather than be brought to deny that, or any other of his glorious attributes.

25. Truly I am so charitably minded, as to think that there is none so wicked, but would confidently make this defence for himself, yea, and believes he is in earnest when he speaks so. But this will not serve the turn; for *God seeth not as man sees*, he judgeth not as man judgeth, but he judgeth righteous judgment: for instance, in that great example which our Saviour gives of the fashion and course of judgment, according to which he purposes to proceed in the last day; he accuses the wicked, and condemns them for neglect of visiting and feeding and clothing him. The apology which they make for themselves, as having never seen him in that exigence, would not be taken: for though I am persuaded they there spake nothing but what they verily thought, namely, that if ever they had seen Christ himself in such want and necessity, they would not have been so hard-hearted to him as they were to his poor servants; yet Christ

will not allow of that excuse, but accounts of their uncharitableness to afflicted Christians as directed to himself.

26. So likewise in the case in hand: though I believe it would be hard to persuade even the most licentious professed sinner, that he believes not indeed the justice and righteousness of God; yet he shall find at last, and that miserably to his cost, that God, who knows his heart much better than himself, for all his professions, will yet esteem him an atheist; and will prove evidently and convincingly unto him, that since that knowledge, which he pretended to have of God's righteousness, had been so fruitless and superficial, that, notwithstanding such a conceit, he proceeded still on in his ungodly courses, that therefore he did but delude himself all the while with fantastical ungrounded illusions; so that whatsoever imagination swim in his brain, yet in the language of his heart, that is, in the propension and sway of his affections, he said, *There is no God.*—Now what hath been said of the omnipresence, infinite knowledge, and justice of God, may, by the same reason and proportion, be spoken of the rest of his glorious attributes. But the straitness of time will force me to leave the rest untouched: I will proceed therefore to make the like collections from one or two articles more of the Creed.

27. Thou believest that after this life (which cannot last very long; it will, and that shortly, have an end) there remain but two ways for all men, of what state and condition soever, that ever were, to be disposed of; either into life and glory everlasting, or else into pains and torments infinite and insupportable; and, by consequence, that thy soul is an immortal substance, which shall for ever continue somewhere: and

according to thy behaviour here, during that short measure of time which thou livest upon the earth, it must expect a reward proportionable thereto. If thou canst persuade thyself to walk worthy of that calling, whereunto thou art called in Jesus Christ; if thou wilt not forswear and renounce that glorious profession which thou madest in thy baptism; if thou canst be content to submit thyself to the easy yoke of Christ; propose to thyself what reward thou canst imagine, give thy thoughts scope and license to be excessive and overflowing in their desires: if thou art not satisfied to the uttermost, infinitely above what thou art now able to comprehend, tell God he is a liar, and hath deceived thee. O, what unspeakable joys shall hereafter expect thee! O, with what a burden and weight of glory shalt thou even be oppressed!

28. But, on the other side, if, notwithstanding such inestimable blessings as are now set before thine eyes, thou art yet resolved to content thyself with such vain trifling pleasures as thou canst meet with in this life—which yet thou canst not attain to but with as much pains and anxiety and care, as, if rightly applied, would have been sufficient to have procured heaven for thee—what shall I say unto thee? Only this, *Thou hast thy reward; remember that thou hast already received thy good things.* What a terrible affrighting speech is this! It may be, thou hast fed and glutted thy lusts with some pleasures of this life; it may be, thou hast satisfied, in some small measure, thy ambition with honour and preferment; and yet it may be, for all thy cares and travels, thou hast not been able to attain to any of those things as thou didst desire: whether thou hast or not, it is all one, there is little to choose; but howsoever, *Remember that thou hast received thy good things;* remember, *thou hast thy reward.* Do

not hereafter presume to offer to pretend to any the least good from God. It may be, hereafter, thou mayest come to such want, as to stand in need of a cup of cold water; nay, it may be, thou wouldst think thyself happy, if any body would afford thee but one drop of water to refresh thy tongue: but in vain; for, *Son, remember thou hast already received thy good things.* Thou never sawest beggar so utterly wretched and destitute, but he might almost every where have filled himself with water, and have thanked nobody for it; and yet, though thou shouldst even consume thyself with entreating and crying for it, yet none shall be found to give it thee; even thy liberal good father Abraham will deny it to thee.

29. Surely there cannot be found so impudent, so unreasonable a sinner, as to profess he is fully persuaded of these things, and that he hath a desire, and even some hope, that God will be so merciful to him, as to preserve him, that none of those things happen unto him, and yet resolve to follow the devices of his own heart; to say, he acknowledgeth that the joys which are reserved for penitent believers are so excessively glorious, that the afflictions of this life are not worthy of them, much less the vain pleasures thereof; and yet withal, rather than not enjoy *the pleasures of sin for a season*, to make himself uncapable of those great blessings! Such a generation of men I find in holy scripture, and God himself takes notice of them, who say, *We shall have peace, though we walk in the imaginations of our heart:* but withal, I can scarce meet with God so impatient through the whole Bible as he is with people of such a temper as this; *Surely the Lord will be avenged on such a nation as this, and will make his wrath to smoke against them.*

30. Therefore whosoever thou art that hast taken

up thy resolution to walk in the imagination of thine own heart, at least take so much pity of thyself, do not thou thyself add violence and heat to the wrath of God, which shall smoke against thee, by pretending to a belief of heaven or hell, or by seeming to profess, that all the while that thou art busy in the prosecution of thine ungodly lusts, notwithstanding that, all that time, this opinion hath never left thee, *that God will bring thee to judgment;* that even that very body of thine, which thou madest a mansion for the Devil, an instrument for any wickedness that he would suggest unto thee, yet that that body should be raised up; that, to thy extreme horror and astonishment, God would take such particular care of that very body of thine, that wheresoever it were lost he would recover it, though dispersed to the four winds of heaven, and build it up again, (thou sayest thou knowest for what use,) even to be a mark, against which he will empty his quivers, and shoot out all the darts of fiery indignation, in the punishing of whom he will express his almighty power.

31. But I cannot allow myself any longer time to prosecute the former part of my proposition, viz. to shew how much men deceive themselves, who think they indeed believe the fundamental points of their faith, when by their practice and course of life they live in an habitual exercise of such sins as are utterly repugnant and destructive to such a belief. And this I think I have performed but yet only in general terms, not descending to a view of some more eminent and particular sins and enormities: for that therefore which remains of the time that your patience will allow me, I will spend it in acquitting myself of the other part of my promise, namely, in instancing in some extraordinary uncontrolled practices of these times, and discovering how utterly they do destroy the

very grounds and foundations of our religion, and how impossible it is they should consist with a true sincere profession of Christianity.

32. As first, for example, how ordinarily do we meet with this practice, for men which are above others in wealth and power, to employ both these to their utmost abilities for the maintaining of an unjust cause against a poor inferior adversary? I am sure this is no news to you; you do not startle at the hearing of such a crime as this; and yet, if it be well considered, what can be imagined more monstrous and abominable? For give me leave to suppose, or put the case, that some one of this company were guilty of this sin:

33. If I should ask him, whence, and from whom he had his riches or power? whom he would acknowledge for his benefactor? I make no question but he would give me a good religious answer, and say, that *he would not sacrifice to his net, nor burn incense to his drag;* but that God, who gave a blessing to his cares and endeavour, had advanced him to such a place and fortune in the world. Again, if I should ask him, in what esteem and value (he thought that) God holds his faithful servants? or, whether he would take it well to have them oppressed and trampled on by others more potent than themselves? he must needs answer again, that God is no accepter of persons, neither riches nor poverty are a means to procure his favour; but that in all conditions of men, *he that loveth righteousness, and hateth iniquity, shall be accepted by him.*

34. If these be his answers, (as without all contradiction, unless he will profess himself an atheist, such must be the effect of them,) then let him consider what a woful condition he has concluded himself to

be in, and what reason he has to thank God for his honour or riches? Does he think that God has furnished him with strength and weapons for this end, that thereby he might be able to make war with himself, that he might have the power to overrun and lay waste those whom God loveth as the apple of his own eye? Can he imagine that God has been so beneficial and liberal to him, in preferring him to a rank and degree above others not inferior to him in the riches and treasures of God's grace, and therefore as dear unto him as himself, for this end, that thereby he may prove a more able and fit instrument for the Devil to wreak his malice and hatred upon those whom God loves?

35. Therefore, if there be ever such a person in this auditory, (yet I hope there is not, but and if there be,) what shall I say unto him? Let him consider what a hard task he has undertaken, to war against God? Let him consider what a strange reckoning he is likely to make unto God, when he shall at last (as undoubtedly he will) require of him an account of his stewardship? Behold, Lord, thou hast given me five talents, and what have I done with them? Why, lo, I have made them ten talents. But how, by what courses? Why, I have unjustly and injuriously robbed and wrung from my fellow-servants those few talents which thou gavest them: I have gained thus much by my violent maintaining of a cause which thou hatedst, and which myself could not deny but to be most unjust. This is surely a sore evil under the sun. But since I hope it little concerns any one here to have such a crime as this dissected curiously and purposely insisted upon, it shall suffice me to say, that they who are guilty of it are far from knowing of what spirit they are, when they say they are Christians, since even

a very heathen would abhor to countenance or entertain such a vice as this.

36. In the second place, *How can ye believe*, saith Christ, *who seek honour one of another, and not that honour which is of God?* If these words of Christ be true, that they who too earnestly desire applause and reputation among men, neglecting in the meantime seriously to endeavour the attaining to the honour which is of God, that is, obedience and submission to his commands, which is that wherein a Christian ought especially to place his honour and reputation; if such men as these do in vain, and without all ground of reason, reckon themselves in the number of true believers; again, if the chief badge and *κριτήριον*, whereby Christ would have his servants to be distinguished from the world, be a willingness to suffer injuries, a desire rather to have the other cheek strucken, and to have the cloak go the same way with the coat, than to revenge one blow with another, or go to law for a matter of no great moment, for recovering of that which a man might well enough lose, without endangering his estate—

37. If these things, I say, be true; suppose Christ, (according to the vision of Ezekiel,) Ezek. ix. 5, 6. should command his angels utterly *to slay through all Jerusalem*, that is, the church, *old and young, maids, and little children, and women, excepting only those upon whom his mark and badge were to be found*; what destruction and desolation would there be! how would the sanctuary of God be defiled, and his courts be filled with the slain! how would many (who now pass, both in their own and other men's opinions, for good Christians enough) be taken for Mahomet's servants, whose religion it is, by fury and murder, to gain proselytes to their abominable profession! Sup-

pose our garments should be presented to God with the same question that Jacob's sons sent their brother Joseph's, *Num hæc est tunica filii tui? Is this thy son's coat?* would they not rather be taken for the skins of savage beasts, so unlike are they to that garment of humility and patience which our Saviour wore, and which he bequeathed us in his legacy?

38. We are so far from seeking that honour which is of God, from endeavouring to attain unto, or so much as countenancing, such virtues, which God hath often professed that he will exalt and glorify, such as humility, and patiently bearing of injuries, that we place our honour and reputation in the contrary; that is counted noble and generous in the world's opinion, which is odious and abominable in the sight of God. *If thy brother offend or injure thee, forgive him*, saith Christ; if he proceed, forgive him: What! *until seven times?* Ay, *until seventy times seven times.* But how is this doctrine received now in the world? What counsel would men, and those none of the worst sort, give thee in such a case? how would the soberest, discreetest, wellbred Christians advise thee? Why, thus—If thy brother or thy neighbour have offered thee an injury or affront! forgive him? By no means; of all things in the world take heed of that: thou art utterly undone in thy reputation then, if thou dost forgive him. What is to be done then? Why, let not thy heart rest, let all other business rest, let all other business and employment be laid aside, till thou hast his blood. What! a man's blood for an injurious passionate speech, for a disdainful look! Nay, this is not all: that thou mayest gain amongst men the reputation of a discreet well-tempered murderer, be sure thou killest him not in passion, when thy blood is hot and boiling with the provocation, but proceed with as much temper and

settledness of reason, with as much discretion and preparedness, as thou wouldest to the communion: after some several days' meditation, invite him mildly and affably into some retired place, and there let it be put to the trial, whether thy life or his must answer the injury.

39. Oh most horrible Christianity! That it should be a most sure settled way for a man to run into danger and disgrace with the world, if he shall dare to perform a commandment of Christ's, which is as necessary to be observed by him, if he have any hope of attaining heaven, as meat and drink is for the sustaining of his life! that ever it should enter into the heart of a Christian to walk so exactly and curiously contrary to the ways of God; that whereas he every day and hour sees himself contemned and despised by thee, who art his servant, his creature, upon whom he might (without any possible imputation of unrighteousness) pour down the phials of his fierce wrath and indignation! yet he, notwithstanding, is patient and longsuffering towards thee, hoping that his longsuffering may lead thee to repentance, and earnestly desiring and soliciting thee by his ministers to be reconciled unto him! yet that thou, for all this, for a blow in anger, it may be for a word or less, shouldest take upon thee to send his soul or thine, or, it may be, both, clogged and pressed with all your sins unrepented of, (for thou canst not be so wild as to think thou canst repent of thy sins, and yet resolve upon such a business,) to expect your sentence before the judgment-seat of God; wilfully and irrecoverably to deprive yourselves of all those blessed means which God had contrived for your salvation, the power of his word, the efficacy and virtue of his sacraments, all which you shall utterly exclude yourselves from, and leave yourselves in such a state, that it shall not be in

God's power to do you any good! *Oh consider this, all ye that fight against God, lest he tear you in pieces, and there be none to deliver you.*

40. In the third place, there is another great evil under the sun, and that is, when men are not content to dishonour Almighty God, and their glorious religion, by unworthy scandalous practices, but, to make themselves innocent, they will entitle God to their abominations: of this nature are those who are curious and inquisitive into scripture, great students in it, for this end, that they may furnish themselves with some places, which being violently wrested, and injuriously handled, may serve, at least in their opinion, to patronise and warrant their ungodly irreligious courses. The time will come, saith Christ to his disciples, *when they who hate and persecute you shall think they do God good service.* And the time is come, when men think they can give no greater nor more approved testimony of their religion, and zeal of God's truth, than by hating and abhorring, by reviling and traducing their brethren, if they differ from them in any, though the most ordinary innocent opinions: if men accord not altogether with them, if they run not on furiously with them in all their tenets, they are enemies unto God and his truth, and they can find scripture enough to warrant them to disgrace and revile such, to raise any scandalous dishonourable reports of them, and to poison utterly their reputation with the world.

An application to the Communion.

I have hitherto, as carefully as so short a time would permit, (and yet, it may be, with greater earnestness than you could have been content I should,) searched into the retired corners of our hearts, and there disco-

vered a vice, which, it may be, you little expected, namely, atheism; a strange vice, I confess, to be found in Christian hearts. I have likewise exemplified in some particular practices of these times most exactly contrary to our profession of Christian religion. If I should endeavour to discover all that might be observed of this nature, not my hour only, but the day itself would fail me. Notwithstanding, I am resolved to make one instance more about the business for which we are met together, namely, the receiving of the blessed body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. I suppose you will all acknowledge with me, that that is a business of the greatest consequence that a Christian is capable of performing. I hope I need not to instruct you, how inexcusably guilty those men render themselves, who come with an unprepared heart, with an unsanctified mouth, to the partaking of these heavenly mysteries. *Who art thou,* (saith God by the Psalmist,) *that takest my word into thy mouth, when thou hatest to be reformed?* And if that be so great a crime for a man only to talk of God, to make mention of his name, when the heart is unclean and unreformed, with how much greater reason may Christ say, What art thou that takest me into thy mouth? What art thou that darest devour my flesh, and suck my blood, that darest incorporate my flesh and blood into thyself, to make my spotless body an instrument of thy lusts, a temple for the Devil to inhabit and reign in? *to crucify Christ* once more, *and put him to open shame?* to crucify him so that no good shall follow upon it, to *make the blood of the new covenant a profane thing?* And thus far, if not deeper, is that man guilty, that shall dare to come to this heavenly feast with spotted and unclean affections.

SERMON IV.

LUKE ix. 23.

—Let him deny himself.

GOOD reason there is, that according to that excess of value and weight, wherewith heavenly and spiritual things do surmount and preponderate earthly and transitory; so likewise the desire and prosecution of them should be much more contentiously active and earnest, than that of the other: yet if men were but in any proportion so circumspect and careful in businesses that concern their eternal welfare, as even the most foolish worldlings are about riches, honour, and such trifles as are not worthy to take up the mind even of a natural man; we should not have the glorious profession of Christianity so carelessly and sleepily undertaken, so irresolutely and fearfully, nay, cowardly maintained; I might add, so treacherously pretended, and betrayed to the encompassing of base and unworthy ends, as now it is.

2. To what may we more justly impute this negligent wretchless behaviour of Christians, than to an extreme incogitancy and want of consideration in us, upon what terms it is that we have entered into league with God, and to what considerable strict conditions we have, in our first initiation at our baptism, so solemnly submitted and engaged ourselves; without a serious resolute performance whereof, we have promised by no means to expect any reward at all from God, but to remain strangers, utterly excluded from the least

hope of enjoying any fruit of those many glorious promises, which it hath pleased our gracious God so liberally to offer and reach out unto us, in our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ?

3. It was no good sign, when the precious seed of the word was received into the stony ground with such a sudden joy. Hearers resembled by that ground give good heed to the glorious and comfortable promises which attend religion, without having respect to many troublesome and melancholic conditions, which must necessarily go along too; and therefore when persecution begins, either within them, when they are commanded to strangle a lust as dear unto them, and as necessary for their employments, as an eye or right hand; or without them, when that profession which they have undertaken becomes offensive or scandalous to great men; then (as if they had been mistaken in the purchase, or deceived by the preacher) the joy so suddenly kindled as soon vanishes, and they retire themselves home, expecting a more commodious and gainful bargain.

4. Hereupon it is that our Saviour in this chapter spends two parables, one of a king preparing for war, the other of a builder for a house; whereby to instruct his hearers what they should do before they did offer to undertake his service: the sum whereof is this; that if they had any ends and projects of their own, if they thought to serve themselves upon him, they were much deceived; that they should deeply and thoughtfully consider of what weight and consequence the business was that they were about.

5. There is a kingdom to be obtained, and a glorious palace, wherein are to be erected many fair mansions to reign in; but it is a kingdom that suffers violence, and the violent must take it by force: and it is a building that will exact perchance all the means they

have, and their whole lives' labour to boot. Wherefore it is good for them to sit down, to send for their friends to counsel; to question their hearts, whether they have courage and resolution; and to examine their incomes, whether they will bear the charges; to muster soldiers for the conquest, and labourers for the building.

6. If they like these large offers, and have means enough for the employment, and are unwilling to spare for cost, let them go in God's name: there is no doubt to be made of an end that shall fully recompense their losses, and satisfy their utmost boldest desires, and fill the whole capacity of their thoughts. But on the other side, unless all these conditions concur, he has so much care of their credit, that he would wish them not to set one foot further in the employment, but to betake themselves home, lest, if they should fail in the business, they should make themselves ridiculous to the world of scorners; to whom it would be meat and drink to see some glorious fresh ruins of a building left to the fowls and beasts to inhabit; or to see a fierce invading army forced to retire themselves home, cooled and content with their former want and poverty.

7. *Object.* But might not some poor, low-minded, sinful hearer reply upon our Saviour, and inquire, whence these sums must be raised, and these forces mustered? Alas! what is a wretched mortal man, that he should think of taking heaven by composition, much more of forcing and invading it? What is there on earth to lay in balance against heaven? Has not the Spirit of God told us, that *all is vanity*, nay, *lighter than vanity*, through all Ecclesiastes? And again, *that men of low condition are vanity, and men of high condition* (to wit, such as, because they abound with wealth, think that therefore they are in much better esteem and favour with God than their brethren) *they*

are worse than vanity? for, as it is Psalm lxii. 9, *they are a lie;* that is, they are no such things as they take themselves for, they are quite contrary to what they seem.

8. *Reply.* The answer hereto is not very difficult: for it is true, if we consider our own abilities, such I mean as our forefathers have left us, it is as impossible for us, by any worth in our power, to offer at the purchase of heaven, as to make a new one; yet such is the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, that so glorious a bargain is already made to our hands, the gain whereof will redound unto us upon very reasonable conditions; namely, if we can be brought to acknowledge our own beggarly starved estate, and thereby evacuating ourselves of all manner of worth and desert in ourselves, and relying only upon his mercy, which is infinite, submitting likewise ourselves to be absolutely at his disposition without any reservation at all.

9. So that the same invaluable precious jewel, which cost the rich merchant in the parable all his estate, and had like to have made a young gentleman in the gospel turn bankrupt, may become ours, even the poorest and most despised persons amongst us; if we will be content to part with our *totum nihil,* all whatsoever we are or have; if we can persuade ourselves to esteem pleasure and profit as dross and dung, when they come in competition with this pearl; if we can readily and affectionately hate our dearest friends and kindred, even tread our parents under our feet, when they lie in our way unto Christ; if we can perfectly detest even the most dearest, closest lusts and affectionate sins; finally, if our own souls become contemptible and vile in our own eyes, in respect of that glorious inheritance so dearly purchased for us; then are we rich to purchase this pearl, then are we able and sufficient to

go through with this building, and strong enough to conquer this kingdom.

10. Now all this (as must be shewed in many more particulars) is properly to deny ourselves, which is a condition that our Saviour makes so necessary and inseparable in every one that purposes to be any thing the better for him; that desires to be found in the number of those that have given up their names unto him; for, saith the text, *Jesus said unto them all, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself —let him—*

11. These few words are not conveniently capable of a division; but taking them in gross, as a precept or law delivered by Christ, and which concerns every man, of what state or condition soever, that resolves to accept of him for a Lord and Saviour; we will proceed according to the ordinary method of expounding a law; namely, first, we will in general consider the nature, meaning, and extent of this law; how far the action here enjoined (which is a denying or renouncing) doth reach; and how much is comprehended in the object thereof, ourselves: secondly, I will restrain this general duty into several special cases, which may conveniently be reduced to three; as namely, that by virtue thereof we are bound to evacuate ourselves, and utterly deny, 1. our own wisdom or understanding; 2. our will and affections; and lastly, our own desert and righteousness.

12. Out of this commandment then, considered in general terms only, (for so I shall only handle it in this hour's discourse,) as it is contained in these two words ἀπαρνησάσθω ἑαυτὸν, but two such words, so full and swelling with expression, that our language can scarce at all, or but faintly, express and render the force and vigour of them in twenty; I shall observe unto you

this doctrinal position; namely, that it is absolutely and indispensably required of every man that professes Christianity, not only utterly to renounce all manner of things that thwart and oppose God's will and command, but also resolutely, and without all manner of reservation, to purpose and resolve upon the denial of whatsoever is in ourselves, or any thing else, how full of pleasure, profit, or necessity soever, though in themselves indifferent, lawful, or convenient, when they come in competition with what Christ hath enjoined us. Which, after I have explained and confirmed, by comparing this law with many other precepts of the same nature in the holy scripture, I shall apply unto your consciences by two useful enforcements: one, taken from the extreme undeniable reasonableness of the thing here commanded; the other, from the wonderful love and kindness in the Lawgiver, that requires not so much at our hands as himself hath already voluntarily performed, and that for our sakes: for thus, or to this purpose, run the words: *If any man will come after me, let him* do as I have done, *even deny himself, take up his,* indeed my, *cross daily, and so follow me.*

13. I told you, I remember, my text was a law, and I repent not of the expression, though I know not how, since our divinity has been imprisoned and fettered in theses and distinctions, we have lost this word *law;* and men will by no means endure to hear that Christ came to command us any thing, or that he requires any thing at our hands: he is all taken up in promise: all those precepts which are found in the gospel are nothing, in these men's opinions, but mere promises of what God will work in us, I know not how, *sine nobis,* though indeed they be delivered in fashion like precepts.

14. These, and many other such dangerous consequences, do and must necessarily arise from that new-invented fatal necessity; a doctrine, that fourteen centuries of Christianity never heard of. If we will inquire after the old and good ways, we shall find the gospel itself by its own author called *a law:* for thus saith the Psalmist in the person of Christ: *I will preach the law: whereof the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee*[a]. And how familiar are such speeches as those in our Saviour's mouth: *This is my command: A new commandment I give unto you: Ye shall be my disciples, if ye do those things which I command you?* Among the ancient Fathers, we find not only that Christ is a Lawgiver, but that he hath published laws which were never heard of before; that he hath enlarged the ancient precepts, and enjoined new; and yet now it is Socinianism to say but half so much. Clemens Alexandr. (3. Στρωμ. *in fine*) saith, that Christ is more than a Lawgiver; he is both Λόγος καὶ Νόμος, and quotes St. Peter for it.

15. Well then, my text is a law, and a preparatory law; it is the voice of one crying, Prepare the ways of the Lord; let all hills be depressed, and all valleys exalted. It bears indeed the same office in our conversion, or new birth, that Aristotle assigns to his privation in respect of natural generation. It hath no positive active influence upon the work, but it is *principium occasionale*, a condition or state necessarily supposed, or prerequired in the subject, before the business be accomplished. For, as in physical generation there can be no superinduction of forms, but the subject, which expects a soul, must necessarily prepare a room or mansion for it; which cannot be, unless the

[a] Psalm ii. 7.

soul that did before inhabit there be dispossessed; so it likewise comes to pass in our regeneration: there is no receiving of Christ, to dwell and live with us, unless we turn all our other guests out of doors. The Devil, you know, would not take possession of a house till it was swept and garnished; and dares any man imagine that a heart defiled, full of all uncleanness, a decayed ruinous soul, an earthly sensual mind, is a tabernacle fit to entertain the Son of God? Were it reasonable to invite Christ to sup in such a mansion, much more to rest and inhabit there?

16. In the ordinary sacrifices of the old law, God was content to share part of them with his servants the priests, and challenged only the inwards as his own due. And proportionably in the spiritual sacrifices, his claim was, *My son, give me thy heart:* he was tender then in exacting all his due. It was only a temptation, we know, when God required of Abraham, that his only son Isaac should be offered *in holocaustum*, for a whole burnt sacrifice, to be utterly consumed, so that no part nor relics should remain of so beloved a sacrifice; yet even in those old times, there were whole burnt offerings; whereby (besides that one oblation of Christ) was prefigured likewise our giving up our whole selves, souls and bodies, as a living, reasonable sacrifice unto God. And therefore our Saviour Christ (who came to fulfil the law, not only by his obedience thereto, but also by his perfect and complete expression of its force and meaning) doth in plain terms resolutely and peremptorily exact from all them that purpose to follow him, a full, perfect resignation of themselves to his disposing, without all manner of condition or reservation.

17. This was a doctrine never heard of in the world before completely delivered. Never did any prophet

or scribe urge or enforce so much upon God's people as is herein contained. Yet in the evangelical law we have it precisely and accurately pressed; insomuch that the holy Spirit of God has taken up almost all the metaphors that can possibly be imagined, the more forcibly to urge this so necessary a doctrine.

18. We are commanded so perfectly and wholly to devote ourselves to God's service; so earnestly and resolutely to undertake his commands, that we must determine to undervalue and despise all earthly and transitory things besides; nay, from the bottom of our hearts we must hate and detest all things, (how gainful or delightful or necessary soever they seem,) if they do in any measure hinder or oppugn us in our journey to Christ.

19. We must not so much as look upon Christ, or glance our eyes upon his glorious mercy, expressed in suffering and satisfying for us, (for St. Luke calls this *θεωρίαν*,) but we must resolve to keep them there fixed, and not deign to think any creature to be a spectacle worthy our looking on: *ἀφοροῦντες εἰς Ἰησοῦν*, saith St. Paul[b]. We have no English term that can fully express the force of this word; for it is not only, as we have it translated, *looking unto Christ*, but taking off our speculations from other objects, and fastening them upon Christ, *the author and finisher of our faith*.

20. When we have been once acquainted, though but imperfectly, with this saving knowledge, we must straight bring our understandings into captivity unto the obedience thereof; and whatsoever other speculations we have, how delightful soever they be unto us, yet rather than they should overleaven us, and (as knowledge without charity is apt to do) puff us up, we

[b] Heb. xii. 2.

must, with much greater care and industry, study to forget them, and resolve, with St. Paul, *to know nothing save Jesus Christ and him crucified.*

21. When we have had notice of that inestimable jewel, the kingdom of heaven, (so called by our Saviour in the parable,) exposed to sale, though our estate be never so great, our wares never so rich and glorious, yet we must resolvedly part with all we have; utterly undo ourselves, and turn bankrupts, for the purchasing of it. Hence are those commands, *Sell all thou hast;* and, lest a man should think that when the land is sold he may keep the money in his purse, there follows, *and give to the poor.* And such care is taken by the Holy Ghost in those expressions, lest any evasion should be admitted; lest it should happen that such a merchant should find no chapman to buy his wares, nor (which is scarce possible) hands to receive his money when he would bestow it; it is further said, *forsake all, leave all;* by all means quit thyself of thy own riches, run away from thy possessions, and if there be any thing yet more dear unto thee than thy possessions, as necessary as thy clothes, *Despolia teipsum, Put off the old man with his lusts and affections;* and though he stick never so close, tear it from thee, shake off the sin that hangeth so fast on.

22. And yet the Holy Ghost proceeds further in a more forcible expression: for many heathens have been found that could persuade themselves to prefer fame, obtained by a philosophical austere life, before riches or honours; but *every man loveth and cherisheth his flesh;* therefore if there be a lust so incorporated into thee, that it becomes as useful and necessary as thy right hand or eye, yet thou must resolve to be thine own executioner, to deform and maim thyself; for what will it profit thee to go a proper personable man

into hell. Nay, if thy whole body begin to tyrannize over thee, thou must fight and war with it, and never leave till thou hast brought it into captivity. Then must thou use it like a slave, with short and course diet, and store of correction, as St. Paul did, ὑπωπιάζω μου τὸ σῶμα καὶ δουλαγωγῶ. Nay, more, saith he, Ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω. Such hatred he bore to the body of sin, which did always accompany him, that not content to overmaster it, he did ignominiously stigmatize and brand it with the marks of slavery.

23. Yet this is not all: if it be rebellious and incorrigible, thou must even dispatch it, put it to death, and that no ordinary one; it must be a servile, slavish, cruel death: *Crucify the flesh with the lusts and affections thereof.* A man would think that this were sufficient, and that we might here rest from further tyrannizing over ourselves; but there is no such matter: *If any man hate not father, and mother, and brethren, and sisters, and all the world besides, even his own soul, for my name's sake and the gospel's,* saith Christ, *he cannot be my disciple.* And now we are at the height; never till now did I tell you the full meaning of my text; how far every man is engaged by virtue of this precept, *let him deny himself.*

24. The strength and vigour of this phrase (which expresses as much indeed as all the former laid together) we shall the better understand, saith St. Chrysostom, if we consider what it is to deny another: if a father in extreme displeasure do so cast off his son, that he denies him to be a son, he becomes worse than a stranger; for he will not so much as admit him to enjoy the benefit that common humanity teacheth every man to shew to another: he will not endure him in his sight, less will he vouchsafe to ex-

postulate with him; nay, he will rejoice when he hears of some misfortune that hath befallen him, and be beholden to any man that will revenge his injuries upon him.

25. Thus must every one do who enters into league or friendship with God; he must work himself out of his own acquaintance; he must be a stranger, or (if God will have him) an enemy to all the world, and especially to himself; though he flow with wealth, yet he must live as being poor, *as having nothing*, saith St. Paul. If afflictions or persecution come upon him in God's behalf, he must with all joy entertain them. Whatsoever God enjoins him, though otherwise never so distasteful to him, it must be his meat and drink to perform it. There is nothing must lay a necessity upon him, but only God; and, to serve him, he must account the only *unum necessarium*.

26. Will you see an example of such obedience, and that in the old law? An extraordinary one you shall find in Exod. xxxii. 29. which depends upon a story which went before, the sum whereof was this: Moses, in revenge of that horrible idolatry which was committed during his absence upon the mount, commands the sons of Levi to consecrate every man himself unto the Lord, upon his son, and upon his brother, and upon his neighbour, by destroying any man, whoever he were, that came in their way; which they resolutely performed. And this obedience of theirs was so acceptable to God, that at Moses's death they obtained the blessing of *Urim* and *Thummim* above all the tribes, with this elogy: *He said unto his father and to his mother, I have not seen them, neither did he acknowledge his brethren, nor knew his own children, for they have observed thy word, and kept thy covenant.* By which obedience, the children wiped out, as it were,

the fact of their father Levi, who had before abused his sword unto injustice, for which he lost the blessing that else he should have had, Gen. xlix.

27. But will not here be room for that earnest objection which the disciples, in great anxiety of mind, made to our Saviour, when he was pressing a doctrine of the same nature with this we have in hand, *Who then can be saved?* If there be required at our hands so absolute and peremptory a resignation of ourselves to God's disposal, that we must root out of our hearts all manner of love of ourselves, or any other creature, then Christ hath destroyed the whole second table of the law; for at the best we are but to *love our neighbours as ourselves:* if therefore our first lesson must be to learn to contemn and despise, nay, even hate our own souls, why do we not, with the Levites, so commended, even now consecrate every man himself to the Lord upon our kindred and neighbours, destroying all about us? Besides, how dare we presume to be rich, or retain those possessions, which, as it seems, God hath bought from us? If our goods be not our own, if our souls be not our own, *men and brethren, what shall we do?* Into what a strait are we fallen! We are commanded to love our brethren as our own souls, and we are commanded to hate our own souls; we are enjoined to give God thanks for those blessings which here we are enjoined to cast away; we are counselled even by our Saviour *to be perfect as our heavenly Father is perfect,* and yet we must deny ourselves; whereas the Spirit of God hath told us, that it is impossible that God should deny himself.

28. For answer: this law must be read and understood (as the schools say) *cum grano salis:* for though it must be most true, that by virtue of this precept we are obliged to an utter evacuation of the love and de-

sire of any thing, and of all manner of confidence in ourselves, or any other creature; yet this must be understood not absolutely, but when such things come in competition with our love or obedience to God; for otherwise we are most necessarily bound to love ourselves and others, to study and care for our own good, and the welfare of our brethren, even to lay down our lives for them. So that we are not bound to destroy the love of ourselves, but only when it is a hinderance to our fulfilling of what God commands us.

29. We therefore, who have given up our names unto Christ, must expect to enjoy the fruits of his obedience, by treading in the same steps which he hath left unto us; as shall be shewed hereafter more plentifully.

30. And yet it is not necessary that we should exactly and curiously apply ourselves to the rule of his obedience: for whereas he voluntarily undertook the form and fashion of a servant, and being Lord of heaven and earth, despised and neglected the riches and glory of this world; we notwithstanding are not tied to such hard conditions, but may flow and abound with wealth and honour; neither need we to deny to our souls any pleasure under the sun, but liberally enjoy it as the gift of God, as long as thereby we withdraw not our obedience and allegiance from God.

31. *Peccatum non est appetitus malarum rerum, sed desertio meliorum;* (saith St. Augustin, quoted by Lombard 2. sent. 42. dist.) i. e. Sin does not consist in desiring or lusting after things which in their own natures are evil and inconvenient, but in preferring a low, inconstant, changeable good, before another more worthy and of greater excellency and perfection. Whilst therefore God has that estimation and value in our thoughts that he deserves; whilst there is nothing in

ourselves or any other creature which we prefer before him; whilst we conspire not with our lusts to depose him from bearing a sovereign sway in our hearts and consciences; whilst we have no other God before him, not committing idolatry to wealth, honour, learning, and the like; it shall be lawful, in the second place, to love ourselves: so that we fulfil this commandment, when we do not deify ourselves; whilst we sacrifice not to our own wisdom, nor burn incense to the pride of our hearts, &c.

32. Conceive then the meaning of this law to be such as if it had been more fully enlarged on this wise: Let every one that but hears any mention of Christ this day take into deep consideration, and spend his most serious morning thoughts in pondering and weighing, whether those benefits, which Christ hath promised to communicate to every one that shall be joined and married to him by a lively faith, be worthy his acceptation: let him oppose to them all the pleasures and profits which he can promise or but fancy to himself under the sun.

33. If after a due comparing of these things together, he have so much wisdom as to acknowledge that an eternal weight of joy and glory, an everlasting serenity and calmness, be to be preferred before a transitory, unquiet, restless, unsatisfying pleasure; and seeing both these are offered and set before him; or rather, seeing such is the extreme mercy of our God, that whereas the goods of this life are not allowed, nor so much as offered equally and universally to all; (for not many have ground to hope for much wealth; *not many wise, not many learned,* saith St. Paul;) yet to every man, whom God hath called to the acknowledgment of the gospel, these inestimable benefits are offered and presented, *bona fide,* without any impossible

condition; so that (let the disputers of this age say what they will) it shall be found that those, who have failed and come short of these glories offered, may thank themselves for it, and impute it to an actual voluntary misprision and undervaluing of these riches of God's mercies, which they might have procured, and not to any fatal overruling power, that did enforce and necessitate, and drive them to their destruction.

34. These things considered, if you are indeed convinced that light is to be preferred before darkness; it is impossible but that you should likewise acknowledge, that it were mere madness for a man to imagine to himself any the most vanishing faint expectation of those glorious promises, whilst he is busy and careful, by all means, to avoid those indeed thorny and unpleasant paths that lead unto them; whilst he promiseth to himself rest and impunity, though he walk in the imagination of his own heart: surely the Lord will be avenged on such a person, and will make his fierce wrath to smoke against him.

35. Therefore resolve upon something: *if the Lord be God, follow him*, serve him, conform yourselves to the form of new obedience which he hath prescribed; but if Baal be God, if mammon be God, if yourselves be gods, follow the devices of your own hearts; but by no means expect any reward at all from God for dishonouring him, or preferring a base unworthy lust before his commands. Lo, it is the Lord of glory, who is salvation, and the way too; it is he that hath professed that there is no possible way of attaining unto him, but by treading in the same steps which he hath left us: a way, which he found full of thorns, full of difficulties, but hath left it to us even strewed with roses in comparison.

36. The greatest and most terrible enemies which

we can fashion to ourselves are those three, which St. Paul hath mustered together, and ordered them just Roman-wise, the strongest in the rear: 1. death; and, 2. the sting of that, sin; and, 3. the poison of that sting, the law. But over all these we are more than conquerors; for it follows, *Thanks be to God, which hath* (mark, *hath already*) *given us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.* At the first, indeed, till the paths were worn and made smooth, there were some difficulties; for what could the primitive Christians expect, having all the world their enemies, but reproaches, exiles, deportations, even horrible torments and death.

37. But we (blessed be our gracious God) are so far from being annoyed with such difficulties and pressures in the way, that all those are to be feared and expected by them that dare deny the profession of our glorious religion. What therefore if the Lord had commanded some great thing of us, even as much as he did of his beloved servants, the apostles and primitive Christians, would we not have done it? How much more, when he says only, *Be not ashamed of me;* now, when you dare not be ashamed of me; now, when it is almost death to be ashamed of me: deny not me before this generation, who would hate and persecute you to the death, if you should deny me; crucify unto you the unclean affections, the incendiary lust of your hearts, which the heathens have performed for the poor empty reward of fame: prefer not riches nor honours before me, which is no more than many philosophers have done for those vulgar changeable gods, which themselves have contemned?

38. Having therefore (beloved Christians) such promises to encourage us, such as the poor heathens never dreamed of; and yet for all that travelled more

earnestly after an airy fantastical happiness of their own, than we (to our extreme shame be it spoken) do after the true one; having such advantages, even above the blessed apostles and ancient martyrs; let us walk as becometh the children of God, having our eyes fastened upon the Lord our salvation, and conforming ourselves freely and unconstrainedly to whatsoever it shall please him to prescribe unto us: not admitting our own carnal reason and worldly wisdom into council about his worship, nor believing any thing, which he has proposed unto us in his word, but for the authority of him that spoke it; not accepting the persons of men, nor persuading ourselves to the belief of horrible and unworthy opinions of God, because men, affected by us, have so delivered. It was a grievous complaint that God made by the prophet Isaiah, chap. xix. 13, *Their fear towards me is taught by the commandments of men.*

39. Again, we must subdue our affections to be ruled and squared according to the good-will of God, rejoicing to see our most beloved sins discovered and rebuked, and even crucified by the powerful word and Spirit of God. Lastly, we must be ready, for Christ his sake, to root out of our hearts that extravagant, immoderate love of our own selves, that private affection, as Basil calleth it; resolving rather to undergo a shameful horrible death, than to maintain any inordinate base desire, or to take part with our filthy lusts against our Saviour, who hath so dearly redeemed us.

40. Thus have you heard, in general terms, largely, and I fear tediously, delivered, the sum and effect of this doctrine of self-denial, (for the restraining of it to particular cases I have reserved to another hour.) Now I will, according to my promise, as earnestly as

I can, enforce this necessary duty upon you, from the two circumstances before mentioned; viz. 1. from the great reasonableness in the thing commanded; and, 2. extreme love and kindness of the Lawgiver, that hath, in his own Person, given us a perfect example, directing us how we should fulfil his command.

41. For the first, namely, the reasonableness of the thing commanded: to omit how all creatures, in acknowledgment of that duty which they owe to God their Creator, do willingly submit themselves to his disposition, denying their own specifical private natures for the general good of the world: for example; the elements are subject to alterations and deportations, to be destroyed and revived, to be instruments of God's favour, and again, of his wrath: surely man, above all the world beside, (not excepting that glorious heavenly host of angels,) is by a more indissoluble adamantine chain obliged and bound to his Maker; *for to which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?*

42. Again, when a great portion of those glorious spirits had mutinously rebelled against God, and man, following the example of their prevarication, had with them plunged himself irrecoverably into extreme unavoidable destruction; in that necessity, God had no respect to those heavenly spirits, which were by nature much more admirable and perfect than we; *for he did in no wise,* saith the apostle, *take upon him the nature of angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham,* and therein performed the glorious work of our redemption.

43. Surely, after this great love, than which (I dare not say God cannot, but) I may well say, he will never shew a greater, we his unworthy creatures are bound to express some greater measure of thankful obedience than we were for our creation; and yet, even then, the

least that could be expected from us was a full, perfect resignation of ourselves to the disposition of that God that gave us our being. Therefore now, after a work that has cost God all that pains and study in inventing and contriving, and so much sorrow and labour in performing; certainly, after all this, it is no great thing if the Lord should require our whole selves, souls and bodies, for a whole burnt offering, a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; if he should require from us our whole substance, whole rivers of oil, and all the cattle feeding on a thousand hills.

44. Yet now he is content that less thanks shall satisfy than was due before ever he performed that glorious work; nay, he hath after all this taken off and subducted from that debt which we owed him for our creation: for whereas then one actual offence against this law did necessarily draw along with it inevitable destruction; yet now our gracious God, perceiving that we are but dust, accepts of our imperfect, sinful obedience, nay, sometimes of the inward desire and willingness to perform, where there is not power to put it in execution. Nothing then can be more reasonable, than that a Christian should be commanded, not to prefer the fulfilling of his own will before God's will; not to suffer, that his carnal desires should have greater power and sway with him than the command of such a God; or, lastly, not to withdraw his allegiance and obedience due to his Redeemer, and place them upon a creature, but equal, or may be inferior, to himself.

45. Secondly, consider the wonderful love and kindness of the Lawgiver, that hath already tasted unto us; tasted, nay, hath drank the dregs of this unpleasant bitter potion. He, by whom all things were made, even the eternal almighty Word; he, which *thought*

it no robbery to be equal with God, became his own creature, and submitted himself to be trod upon, reviled, hated, despised by the worst of all creatures, cruel, ungodly, and perverse sinners; he, of whose fulness we have all received, did utterly evacuate and empty himself of his glory and majesty, denying to himself such things which he would not even to the most despised creatures. For, saith he, *the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not whereon to lay his head. Ye know*, saith St. Paul, 2 Cor. viii. 9, *the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be made rich.* So poor he was, that he was forced to borrow tribute-money of a fish, and was fain to strain himself to a miracle to get the fish to bring it: so poor, that he was forced to borrow a young colt of strangers, never known to him: *Say*, saith he, *the Lord hath need of him:* a strange unheard-of speech! The Lord, that created the world, and can as easily annihilate it, yet he hath need, and hath need of a colt, the foal of an ass! Time would fail me, for I suppose the world itself would not contain the books that might be written of his dangers, his temptations, his fastings, his travels, his disgrace, torments, and death; all performed without any end proposed to himself, besides our good and happiness.

46. *It behoved him*, saith St. Paul, *to be made like unto his brethren in all things, that he might be a merciful and faithful High Priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people. For in that he himself hath suffered being tempted, he his able to succour them that are tempted*[c]. Which of you, (my beloved friends,) when he does seriously meditate on this place, will not be forced to

[c] Heb. ii. 17, 18.

sit down, even ravished and astonished at the excessive and superabundant mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ; that he which was the God that created us, in whom we live, move, and have our being; and, being more intrinsical to us than our own natures, (as the schools do boldly express,) doth know our most hidden thoughts long before they are; that he, notwithstanding, should descend to submit himself to the same infirmities and temptations with us, to this end, that by bettering and adding to that knowledge, which he had before of our wants and miseries, to wit, by perfecting and increasing his former speculative knowledge by a new acquired experimental knowledge, he might be better acquainted with what we want, and thereby more inclined to mercy and commiseration, and more powerful to succour us, being tempted.

47. See, behold (beloved Christians) how for our sakes he hath enlarged, as it were, three of his glorious incomprehensible attributes: 1. his omniscience, by knowing that personally and experimentally which he did before only know contemplatively; 2. his mercy, in that this his knowledge doth more incite his goodness; and, 3. his omnipotent power; *for*, saith the text, *in that he himself hath suffered being tempted he is* (thereby) *able to succour them that are tempted.* There seems likewise to be an access to his glory by this his great humility; for, saith the text in Heb. v. 5, *Christ glorified not himself to be an High Priest.*

48. Woe unto us, my beloved friends, if such mercies as these be neglected and slighted by us: woe unto us, if a commandment proceeding from such a Lawgiver have not greater force upon us, than any obligation whatsoever.

49. And if these things be so, then (in the first place) how miserably are those deceived that think they have

sufficiently observed this commandment, when they deny to themselves some one delightful insinuating affection, some one enormous crying sin, to which they see others wilfully and scandalously devoted; yet in the meantime reserve to themselves many a bosom, private, beloved lust.

50. You that know the story of Ananias and Sapphira, may remember with what a fearful name the Holy Spirit hath branded their sin; it is called no less than *lying to the Holy Ghost:* it comes near, both in name and condition, to that fearful sin for which Christ did not die, and for which God could yet never find mercy enough to forgive.

51. Yet consider what this sin was; they voluntarily sold all the means they had, that the money, being equally divided, might supply the necessity of those that wanted. Notwithstanding, to make sure work for some certain estate whereupon they might rely, they subducted some part of the money, and laid the rest at the apostles' feet.

52. St. Peter told them, that their land was in their own power; neither did any constraint lie upon them, to enforce them to sell all: but since they had professed themselves among the number of them who were willing to clothe and cherish and feed Christ, in the persons of their new-converted brethren, it was horrible theft, and desperate lying against God, to diminish one penny of the sum.

53. Now that you may know how much this concerns you:—which of you, beloved Christians, hath not solemnly and publicly sworn and vowed to Almighty God at your baptism, not to perfer the vain pomp and vanities of this world, much less the abominable crimes thereof, above your Saviour, into whose name you were baptized?

54. Are not you then most shamefully perjured, when you are so far from renouncing the vanities of this world for Christ his sake, that you will not be withdrawn from the crimes of it? when the base lust of an harlot, or the furious excess of wine, or that untempting, undelightful, and therefore more unpardonable sin of swearing and blasphemy, shall be of sufficient force with you every hour, not only to withdraw all manner of respect and obedience from Christ, but even to make you crucify him again, and to put him to open shame?

55. And do not please yourselves in this conceit, that because God does not exact of you now the forfeiture of your vow and promise, as he did of Ananias and his wife, that therefore your case is much better than theirs: for let me tell you, as our Saviour on such an occasion told the Jews, *Think you, that you are less sinners than they, whose blood Pilate mingled with the sacrifices; or those upon whom the tower of Siloe fell?* so let me say unto you: Think you, that because God shewed so terrible an example upon Ananias and Sapphira, for their lying to the Holy Ghost, by taking them away suddenly by a fearful death, and hath not yet shewed the like upon you, that your sin comes much short of theirs, and that you may notwithstanding escape? *I tell you nay, but except ye repent, ye shall likewise perish.* Alas! what a trifle was that judgment which befell them, to those plagues which are reserved for wilful, obstinate sinners!

56. I beseech you, therefore, brethren, even by the bowels of Jesus Christ, that you would consider what it is you do, when you allow yourselves in the practice of any one habitual sin: it is no less than a wilful wiping off the water wherewith you were baptized; it is no less than an abjuring of Christ; nay, it is no less than a devoting and sacrificing yourselves to devils.

57. In the second place, where will those appear that are so far from denying all for Christ, that for his sake they will not leave one delightful, profitable sin; they will rather deny Christ himself than the least troublesome pleasure, running into all excess of riot; nay, they will sell Christ cheaper than Judas did; they will sell him, and take no money for him? What else do those that spend their time in idle, vain lying, in fruitless oaths, in unnecessary blasphemy? They can be content to see Christ himself almost every day naked, and do not clothe him; hungry, and do not feed him; in prison, and do not visit him; for inasmuch as they perform not these works of charity to his beloved little ones, they deny them to him. Will they be found worthy of Christ, that for his sake will not do so much as a heathen hath done in an humour, or for the unprofitable reward of fame? that for his sake will not forgive their brother some small injury received; nay, perhaps some great kindness offered, as a seasonable correction, or loving dissuasion from sin; that, for his sake, will not take the least pains in furthering their own salvation?

58. Lastly, what will become of me, and you, (beloved fathers and brethren of the clergy,) we to whom God hath intrusted the exercise and managing of three or four of his glorious attributes? For to us is committed the gospel of Christ, which is *the wisdom of God* hidden from the world: and to us is committed the gospel of Christ, *which is the power of God to salvation*, and *which worketh mightily in them which believe*, even according to the mighty working whereby he raised Christ from the dead: and to us is committed the gospel of Christ, even *the dispensation of the riches of his glorious mercy and compassions*.

59. What then will become of us, if we, notwith-

standing these great engagements, these inestimable prerogatives, shall turn this wisdom of God into foolishness, by exalting and deifying our own carnal wisdom; if we shall weaken and make void this almighty power, by the violent opposition of our sinful lusts and affections; finally, if we shall be too sparing and niggardly in the dispensing of these his mercies; if we shall render his goodness suspected to our hearers, as if those frequent and plentiful offers of pity and compassion were only empty, histrionical expressions, and not professions of a mind heartily and sincerely inclined unto us?

60. I will tell you what will become of us; and I shall the better do it, by telling you, first, what an excessive weight of glory we, especially, shall lose by it: *They that be wise* (saith Daniel) *shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever.* Not as those vulgar, ordinary stars, that have light enough only to make them visible; but like those more noble lights, which are able to cast a shadow through the whole creation, even like the sun in his full strength. And the preferment we are likely to gain is very answerable to our loss; we shall be glorious, shining firebrands, of the first magnitude, in whose fearful, horrible destruction, God will shew what he is able to do.

SERMON V.

ROM. VIII. 34.

Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again.

IF I durst appear in this place with any ends and projects of mine own; if, whilst I preach unto you Jesus Christ, I could think it worth my labour to lose a thought about the purchasing of a vain, fruitless reputation and opinion amongst my hearers; surely I should by no means omit so commodious and tempting an opportunity, as this argument of Christ's resurrection may suggest unto me; it being a business, in the effecting whereof, above all the works which God ever made since he began to work, he most especially glorified almost all his Divine attributes; it being a deliverance, even of God himself, from destruction and rottenness.

2. It is an argument so pleasing to St. Paul, that in many places he seems to magnify it even to the undervaluing and disparagement of whatsoever Christ before either did or suffered. In a sermon of his (Acts xiii.) preached at Antioch, he makes it the complement and fulfilling of whatsoever God before had promised to the fathers, and of all the prophecies, which, since the beginning of the world, had been delivered by God's messengers. To make which good, the apostle himself in that place, (whereas he needed not to strain so far; there were then extant prophecies enough, purposely and precisely declaring the glory and power of Christ's resurrection,) he notwithstanding, as it would seem,

mistakes that famous prophecy of Christ's birth, in those words of the second Psalm, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*; and seemingly misapplies them to his resurrection. Why, was he then indeed the carpenter's son? was it a confession, and not humility, that he called himself the Son of man? were the torments of his passion and death (as himself seems to intimate, John xvi. 21.) only the pangs and throes of his new birth?

3. By no means; he was, even in the extremest degree, and lowest point of his humiliation; yea, when himself, in that last terrible agony, did seem to call it in question; yet then also he was indeed the only-begotten eternal Son of God; or, if he had not, most miserable and desperate had been our case. But by his resurrection he did declare, unquestionably and without all contradiction, unto the world, his glory and majesty; or, to speak in St. Paul's words, Rom. i, *he was mightily declared to be the Son of God, by his resurrection from the dead.*

4. But we now celebrate a feast, a season of joy and exultation, which we use not to do upon the memory of God's most wonderful acts and exploits, though never so much expressing the glory of his majesty and power, unless they have been beneficial unto us; unless they have very nearly concerned our safety and happiness.

5. And surely this great deliverance of Christ from the dominion and power of hell and the grave, when God called his Son the third time out of Egypt, this victory of his, did in a high degree import us, and advance our welfare; it had some more than ordinary influence upon our salvation; otherwise, this season dedicated to the memory thereof, would not have been so acceptable to the primitive Christians, to make them (as it were in revenge and faction against the late me-

lancholy time of fasting and repentance) for its sake to set up an anti-lent, and to appoint other forty days of feasting and triumph, which was more (as Tertullian boasteth) than all the solemn holydays of the heathen joined together. Yea, so scrupulous were they in the celebration of this feast, (quite opposite to the solemn peevishness of some Christians of our times,) that for the whole space between Easter and Pentecost, as it is thought, they quite intermitted the works and exercise of their vocations; they would not suffer one fasting-day to appear; they left off their severity and discipline, their *vigilia* and *stationes*; nay, they would not, all that time, so much as *de geniculis adorare*, (in the witty barbarous expression of the same Father, in his book *De Corona Militis*,) they would not shew so much faintheartedness and dejection as to kneel at prayers.

6. Therefore, instead of saying fine things of the fashion and contrivance of this business of Christ's resurrection; instead of raising matter of wonder and astonishment out of the glory and power of it; I will endeavour, (being to conclude the solemn celebration of this feast,) by way of use and application, to discover the issue and fruit thereof in respect of us; not only the convenience, but the extreme necessity, and the strict coherence, which our salvation has, not only upon the satisfaction and death, but upon the resurrection and life of our blessed Saviour.

7. Now we find many things ascribed to Christ's life and death in holy scripture, only as to patterns and exemplary causes, being duties which the consideration of Christ's death and resurrection ought proportionably to exact from us; as, if Christ be dead, then count yourselves also dead unto sin; if risen again, then count yourselves alive unto righteousness. For how it should come to pass that so much of our holi-

ness as makes up mortification, and no more, should be ascribed to Christ's death, as a proper effect and fruit thereof; and the rest, which is newness of life and obedience, should be imputed to his resurrection, I shall never be able to comprehend.

8. The benefits therefore which accrue unto us by Christ, I suppose may be divided either into those which flow from the merit of his death, or from the power and influence of his life. In the former are comprehended all whatsoever Christ hath done for us; in the latter, whatsoever he doth or will work in us. And both being extremely necessary, it shall be this hour's employment, to shew with what good reason we celebrate a feast at this time, that we should not terminate our contemplation only on the great love and bowels of compassions on Good Friday expressed unto us; but also, and with better reason, on the joy and comfort, which with great reason we may collect from this business of Easter, even that lively hope whereunto we are regenerated by the resurrection of Christ: and to join with St. Paul in his wonder and amazement, at the consideration of the infinite mercy and power of God; and thereupon his boasting and challenging, securely, all manner of adversaries: *Who is he that shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again.*

9. In which words are comprehended the great dependence and combination which our non-condemnation or salvation has, not only with the death and satisfaction of Christ, but also rather, even with advantage, on his resurrection. Now because they are so few they cannot conveniently be divided, I will out of them raise this doctrinal proposition, namely, That Christ's

resurrection and exaltation is fully as necessary and effectual to procure and perfect our salvation, if not more, than even the all-sufficient sacrifice upon the cross.

10. Which, that I may more fully and distinctly confirm it unto you, I will divide into two propositions, which, if sufficiently maintained, do necessarily infer the doctrine. The first whereof is this: That the purpose of Christ, who satisfied for our sins, and the covenant which he made with God, who accepted of this satisfaction, was not, that remission of sins should immediately ensue upon his death, but only upon performance of the conditions of the new covenant made in Christ's blood, which are, unfeigned repentance for sin, and a serious conversion unto God by faith. The second, That by the dominion and power of Christ, which at his resurrection, and not before, he received, as a reward of his great humility; we are not only enabled to the performance of the conditions of this new covenant, and, by consequence, made capable of an actual application of his satisfaction; but also, by the same power, we shall hereafter be raised up, and exalted to everlasting happiness. Of these two propositions therefore in the order proposed, very briefly, and even too too plainly. And first of the first, namely, That the purpose of Christ, who &c.

11. I confess it would be no hard matter for a disputant, meeting with an adversary that would be content to be swayed and governed by reason alone, to molest, and even fright him from the truth of this doctrine: for if we shall consider, not only the excessive, unspeakable torments which Christ suffered for us, but especially the infinite majesty and glory of the Person who willingly submitted himself to that curse; what less

reward can be expected, than the present deliverance and salvation, not only of a few men, but even of many worlds of men and angels?

12. But it is not for us, beloved Christians, to set our price and value upon Christ's precious blood; to say, Thus much it is worth, and no more. As there have not wanted men on the other side, who have dared to affirm, that Christ's blood, according to exact estimation, did amount to a certain value, by the worth and cost thereof such a set number as shall be saved were redeemed and purchased; and if one besides should be delivered, it were more than the price of the blood came to. What a fearful dangerous curiosity is this! Is it not a piece of Judas his sin, to set our own estimation and value upon, to make a bargain and sale of Christ's death; to set up a kind of shambles to sell his flesh and blood in?

13. But leaving these vain, fantastical calculations to their chief professors, the schoolmen, who are so unreasonably addicted to this dreaming learning, that nothing can escape their compass and balance: for to omit their curious descriptions and maps of the dimensions and situation of heaven and hell; the figure, borders, islands of both; they have undertaken to discover the exact, proportionable increase of the graces of the saints, especially of the blessed Virgin; whose good actions they have found to increase just *in octupla ratione:* so that, for example, her twentieth good action did exceed the first in virtue and intention of grace, as much as the whole earth doth exceed a grain of mustard seed.

14. Is not this, beloved friends, a learning and wisdom to be pitied? Is not this that disease which St. Paul discovers, 1 Tim. vi, the effect whereof is to make men sick about *vain questions, and oppositions*

of science falsely so called? Therefore leaving these vain speculations, as likewise others about the business in hand, no less curious, and much more dangerous, yet securely stated in these days, almost in every pamphlet and synopsis; as namely, whether God could have contrived any course for man's salvation besides that which he prosecuted? whether, without accepting any satisfaction to his justice, he could freely and absolutely have remitted our sins?

15. For what use or profit can be made of these questions, though with never so great subtilty and curiosity stated? Besides, we find that God had professed unto Adam, that his death, together with the destruction of all mankind, should be the reward of the breach of his covenant: by which means God's justice being interested in the business, the very grounds and foundation of this latter question are destroyed, the doubt and screw whereof must needs have been blasphemous; namely, whether God could have been unjust? Nay more, it makes the sending of Christ into the world, together with his obedience to the death, even that accursed death of the cross, to be a matter of no necessary importance; to be only a great compliment, whereby God shews unto mankind, that though he could easily have remitted their sins without any satisfaction, (for whatsoever is possible to God is easy,) notwithstanding, that they should see he would strain himself even further for them, was very requisite; and withal, to shew his abomination of sin, he was content that all this ado, all these pompous, tragical businesses should be performed.

16. But what saith the scripture? *If there had been a law which could have given life, Christ should have died without cause.* And thereupon our apostle (Rom. iii. 25.) saith, that *God hath set forth his Son*

to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare, I say, at this time his righteousness: that he might be just—that is, lest by the forbearance of God, who since the foundation of the world had shewed no sufficient example of his hatred and indignation unto sin; as also to shew there was a reason sufficient to move him to remit the sins of many his chosen servants before Christ; he hath now at last evidently expressed unto the world his righteousness; to wit, his ἐκδίκησιν, and ἀνταποδοσίαν, by condemning sin, and revenging himself upon it, in the person of his beloved, innocent Son.

17. And lest this stir should seem to have been kept only to give us satisfaction, and to create in us a great opinion and conceit of his righteousness; the apostle clearly saith, he did all this to *declare at this time his righteousness, that he might be just,* which otherwise it seems he could not have been. But I am resolved to quit myself abruptly, and even sullenly, of those questions, and betake myself more closely to the matter in hand.

18. What therefore is the effect and fruit which accrues even to the elect of God, by virtue of Christ's satisfaction, humiliation, and death, precisely considered, and excluding the power and virtue of his resurrection and glorious life? Why, reconciliation to God, justification, or remission of sins, and, finally, salvation both of body and soul. But is there any remission of sins without faith? Shall we not only exclude works from justification, but faith also? God forbid: for so we should not only contradict the grounds of God's holy word, but also raze and destroy the very foundations of the second covenant.

19. For answer; we must consider our reconciliation under a twofold state (according to the distinction of the reverend and learned Dr. Davenant, bishop of Salisbury): 1. Either as it is *applicabilis*, not yet actually conferred; or, 2. as *applicata*, particularly sealed and confirmed to us by a lively faith. For the understanding of which, we must know, that in Christ's death there was not only an abolishing of the old covenant of works, the handwriting which was against us, *which Christ nailed unto his cross*, (as St. Paul saith, Col. i,) delivering us from the curse and obligation thereof; but also there was a new gracious covenant, or (which is a word expressing greater comfort to us) a new will or testament made, wherein Christ hath bequeathed unto us many glorious legacies, which we shall undoubtedly receive, when we shall have performed the conditions, when we shall be found qualified so as he requires of us.

20. Till which conditions be performed, by the power of God's Spirit assisting us, all that we obtain by the death of Christ is this: that, first, whereas God, by reason of sin, was implacably angry with us, would by no means accept of any reconciliation with us, would hearken to no conditions; now, by virtue of Christ's death and satisfaction, he is graciously pleased to admit of composition; the former aversation and inexorableness is taken away; or, to speak more significantly, in St. Paul's language, (Ephes. ii. 16,) *the enmity is slain*. Secondly, that whereas before we were liable to be tried before the throne of his exact, severe, rigorous justice, and bound to the performance of conditions, by reason of our own contracted weakness become intolerable, nay, impossible unto us; we are released of that obligation, and though not utterly freed from all manner of conditions, yet tied

to such as are not only possible, but by the help of his Spirit, which inwardly disposeth and cooperateth with us, with ease and pleasure to be performed. Besides which, we have a throne of equity and grace to appear before. Mercy is exalted above, even against justice; *it rejoiceth against judgment;* it is become the higher court, and hath the privileges of a superior court, that appeals may be made from the inferior court of justice to that of mercy and favour. Nay more, whereas before we were justly delivered into the power of Satan, now being reconciled to God by the blood of Christ, we are (as it is in Col. i. 13.) *delivered from the power of darkness, and translated into the kingdom of his dear Son.*

21. All this, and more, (if it were the business of this time to be punctual in discovering all,) hath Christ wrought for us, being aliens and strangers, yea, enemies afar off, without God in the world. Yet for all this that Christ hath merited thus much for us, and more; notwithstanding, take away the power of Christ's resurrection and life; take away the influence of his Holy Spirit, whereby we are regenerated and made new creatures, and we are yet *in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity.* For though (as it is, Heb. x. 19.) we have παρρησίαν, i. e. liberty, and free leave to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus; though there be a way made open, yet walk we cannot; we are not able to set forwards into it, as long as we are bound and fettered with our sins; though there be an access to the throne of grace, yet it is only for them which are sanctified.

22. And therefore what dangerous consequences do attend that doctrine which teacheth, that immediately upon the death of Christ all our sins are actually forgiven us, and we effectually reconciled. But because

another employment is required by this time, I will, out of many, make use of two reasons only to destroy that doctrine; whereof the one is taken from the nature of the second covenant, the other from the necessity of Christ's resurrection.

23. For the first: if we, that is, the elect of God, (for I am resolved to have to do with none else at this time,) be effectually reconciled to God by virtue of Christ's death, having obtained a full, perfect remission of all our sins, why are we frighted, or, to say truly, injured with new covenants? why are we, seeing our debts are paid to the utmost farthing, the creditor's demands exactly satisfied, the obligation cancelled; why then are we made believe, that we are not quite out of danger; nay, that unless we ourselves, out of our own stock, pay some charges and duties extraordinarily, and, by the bye, enforced upon us; all the former payments, how valuable soever, shall become fruitless, and we to remain accountable for the whole debt?

24. But it may be (and that seems most likely) there is no such thing indeed as a new covenant. Promises and threatenings are only a pretty kind of rhetorical device, which God is pleased to use, sometimes to allure us, and win our hearts to do that which shall please him; other times to startle and affright us, when we are about something contrary to his command. And to say the truth, this must of necessity be the issue of the former doctrine: for how is it possible to make these things hold together? We are already perfectly reconciled to God by the death of his Son, without any consideration had to our personal faith and repentance; and yet, unless we do earnestly repent us of our sins, and with a lively faith adhere to God's promises, we shall never be reconciled unto God.

Or these? All our sins are already remitted, and that only for the virtue of Christ's satisfaction; and yet, unless we believe, our sins shall never be forgiven us.

25. So that by this reckoning, we must be forced to purge the gospel of those troublesome, dangerous terms of covenants and conditions, of those fruitless, affrighting conjunctions, *Si credideris, si non pœnitentiam egeris.* Or (which is all one) soften them into a sense utterly repugnant and warring against the natural force and signification of the words; on this wise: Where the scripture saith, If thou repentest not, thy sins shall not be forgiven thee; thou art not to conceive, that forgiveness of thy sins is a work yet to be done, or that it has any dependance upon any thing in thee; but this great blessing shall be hid from thine eyes, thou shalt never come to the knowledge of it, and thereby shalt live here a discontented, pensive, suspicious life. Again: if thou believest, thou shalt be saved; that is, thou shalt obtain a comfortable assurance of hope, nay, an infallible faith of thy future salvation; though that was intended thee without any consideration of thy faith.

26. So that the gospel of Christ is not *the power of God unto salvation:* for how can the word be an instrument of that which was long ago absolutely performed and purchased? and therefore Christ his preaching, his miracles, and tears, the apostles' travels and persecutions, the sending of the Holy Spirit, baptism, eucharist, imposition of hands, absolution, and many more blessed means of our salvation, were not instituted for this end, to make us capable of remission of our sins, (for that, it seems, was already not only meritoriously, but effectually procured, and without all manner of conditions infallibly destined to God's

elect,) but only for this end, that whilst they live here, to their thinking, in danger and hazard, (but they are fools for thinking so,) they may now and then be a little cheered and comforted with apprehending what Christ hath done for them, and to what a comfortable state and inheritance he hath destined them. Thus the covenant, which God hath sworn shall be everlasting, is by the improvidence and ignorance of some men rendered unprofitable; yea, utterly abrogated: but (*ne quid inclementius dicam*) we *have not so learned Christ.*

27. The second reason destroying the former doctrine, I told you should be taken from the necessity of Christ's resurrection. For if the immediate effect of Christ's death be the purchasing of a perfect reconciliation with God, and full remission of sins for us the elect of God; then (I will not say what benefit, but) what necessity is there of Christ's resurrection in respect of us? For by this account, after the *consummatum est* upon the cross, when the satisfaction was perfected, and our debts paid; though Christ had afterwards miscarried, though he had been detained by death, though his soul had been left in hell, and he had seen corruption; notwithstanding, we should stand upon good terms with God, unless we shall conceive of him worse than of the most oppressing usurer, that when a debt is discharged, and the bond cancelled, will notwithstanding not release the prisoner, unless the undertaker come in person, or by main force deliver him.

28. I confess, that to see a friend that had ventured so far for us as our Saviour did, that to do us good had put himself in such extreme danger; I say, to see such a one to be utterly cast away, without all hopes and possibility of being able to pay him our thanks,

would be a spectacle which would grieve and pierce our very souls; it would be a rending to our bowels. But this is only charity and gratitude, or good nature in us, which would procure this grief; not that it stands upon our safety, his preservation being a matter only of convenience, not extreme necessity to us.

29. We all do worthily condemn and detest that blasphemous heresy of the Socinians, who exclude the meritorious death and suffering of Christ from having any necessary influence into our justification or salvation, making it of no greater virtue than the sufferings of the blessed martyrs, who, by their death, set their seal and testimony to the truth of the gospel, which freely offers forgiveness of sins to all penitent believers. Now the same injury which these heretics do to the merit of Christ's death, in proportion the former doctrine fastens upon his resurrection and new life, by taking from it the chief and proper effect thereof, which is an actual vindication of us from the power of sin into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, by the power of Christ's Spirit, plentifully by him diffused and shed abroad in our hearts; and making the chief virtue thereof to consist in affording us only matter of comfort and hope, that God will deal no otherwise with us than he hath dealt with Christ, and after a life full of disturbance and misery, revive us to glory and immortality with his Son for evermore: whereas St. Paul hath another kind of conceit of Christ's resurrection; for, saith he, in Heb. v. 9. Christ *being made perfect*, i. e. glorified, (chap. ii. 10.) *becomes author of eternal salvation to all that obey him: and if Christ be not risen, your faith is vain, you are yet in your sins;* and if Christ be not risen, neither shall we ever be raised, but be utterly irrecoverably condemned to everlasting rottenness.

30. And thus I am unawares fallen upon my second proposition, namely, That by the dominion and power of Christ, which at his resurrection, and not before, he received as a reward of his great humility, we are not only enabled to the performance of the conditions of this new covenant, and by consequence made capable of an actual application of his satisfaction; but also by the same power we shall hereafter be raised up and exalted unto everlasting happiness.

31. Though by the virtue of the incarnation of our Saviour, the human nature was raised to a state and condition of unspeakable glory; notwithstanding, if in this place, as well as before, we shall be content to submit our reason to scripture, we shall find, that according to a covenant made between Christ and his Father, he was content not to challenge to himself any right of dominion and rule over us, till he had perfectly deserved and earned it by a former voluntary submission and humiliation of himself.

32. The conditions on Christ's part we find most exactly performed by him, wholly resigning and prostrating his own will to the will and disposition of his Father. At his private passion, which immediately went before his attachment, when he was sacrificed, and even crucified alone in the garden, without the assistance and malice of a traitorous disciple, of the chief priests, or Romans; though he retained that innocent fear of death and shame which is natural to man, which forced him to cry out, *Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me;* notwithstanding, though he could not hate his own life, yet to shew he preferred the fulfilling of his Father's will before it, he adds, *Nevertheless, not my will, but thy will be done*[a]: by

[a] Luke xxii. 42.

which words he resigns the whole power and faculty of his will into his Father's hands. In the words of another evangelist, he saith, *Not what I will, but what thou wilt*[b]; where he resigns and submits the act and exercise of his will. And, lastly, to make all complete, in the expression of a third evangelist, he saith, *Not as I will, but as thou wilt*[c]; where he subjects not only the faculty and exercise of his will to the performance of what God shall command him, but is willing and desirous to do it after what manner and fashion soever God shall be pleased. It is not possible for the understanding of man to add or conceive a degree beyond this.

33. In the next place, we shall see how God the Father is as good as his word to his Son. But, first, give me leave to complain to you of that tyranny, which custom, partiality, or something worse, has laid upon our understandings: and that is this, that wheresoever any former protestant writer hath suspected a doctrine as not beneficial, but rather dangerous, to some conclusion which he is resolved to maintain against the papists, we their scholars are obliged to make good their jealousies and (may be) groundless suspicions.

34. To omit many examples, I will produce only these few. It lies upon us to maintain, that St. John's baptism was one and the same sacrament with that of Christ's, contrary to express words of scripture: and something else; that Christ is a Mediator *secundum divinam naturam*; which borders, I fear, upon an old dangerous heresy: as likewise, (which especially concerns this place,) that Christ merited nothing to himself by his passion, neither was the exaltation of his human nature to the dominion and rule over all crea-

[b] Mark xiv. 36. [c] Matt. xxvi. 39.

tures a reward of his humility, but a preferment due to his person, though by special dispensation the exercise thereof was deferred for a time, but should have been conferred upon him as fully as he now enjoys it, though he had never suffered.

35. But scripture teacheth us, that *Christ was to be made perfect by sufferings:* that, *because he had drunk of the brook by the way, therefore he should lift up his head:* that, *for the joy which was set before him* (that is, having an eye to the glorious reward and fruit of his suffering) *he endured the cross, and despised the shame, and* therefore *is set up at the right hand of glory. Because being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross;* διὸ, *therefore,* for this reason, *God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name, which is above every name*[d], &c. Nay, St. Paul makes the obtaining a rule and dominion over mankind a main end of his death; for in Rom. xiv. 9. he saith, Εἰς τοῦτο, *For to this end Christ both died and rose again, that he might be Lord both of the dead and of the living:* by his death, meriting this dominion; by his resurrection, receiving it. But I will forbear controversy, because I desire to seek out no adversary, especially in my preaching, but only the Devil and sin.

36. This therefore I think we shall agree upon, that it was the purpose and immutable decree of God, that after the fall and misery of man, whatsoever good should befall us toward our restitution and repairing to our lost happiness, should be conveyed unto us by our own nature; *that the seed of the woman should break the serpent's head;* that is, not only in St. John's phrase, *destroy the works of the Devil,* but also, in

[d] Phil. ii. 8, 9.

not have me to reign over them? Bring them hither, and slay them before me.

40. But the most eminent and notorious exercise of Christ's dominion is seen in the rule over his church, which he purchased with his own blood. Now the first business he took in hand, presently upon his resurrection, when all power and dominion was given him, was, to give commission and authority to his ambassadors the apostles, and disciples, to make known to the world that so great salvation which he had wrought at his passion. Now, though the apostles were sufficiently authorized, by virtue of that commission, which Christ gave to them in those words, *As my Father sent me, so send I you*—notwithstanding, they were not to put this authority presently in practice, but to wait for the sending of the Holy Ghost, which Christ before had promised them; that by his virtue and influence they might be furnished with abilities to go through with that great employment of reconciling the world unto God, by subduing men's understandings to the truth and obedience of the gospel.

41. We read in the Gospel of St. John, that, during the life which Christ lived in the flesh, *the Holy Ghost was not sent;* and the reason is added, *because the Son of man was not yet glorified.* The strength and vigour of which reason doth excellently illustrate the point in hand. For the sending of the Holy Ghost was one of the most glorious acts of Christ's kingly office, and the most powerful means of advancing his kingdom. Therefore in the days of his humiliation, whilst he lived in the form of a servant, before he had purchased to himself a church by his own blood, his human nature obtained no right of dominion and

power over mankind. For till we were redeemed from the power and subjection of the Devil and sin, by the merit of Christ's death, we were none of Christ's subjects, but servants and slaves, sold under sin and Satan.

42. So that it being necessary that the Son of man should not only pay a price and ransom for our redemption by his death, but also that the same Son of man, and none else, should actually and powerfully vindicate his elect from the bondage they were in, and effectually apply his merits and satisfaction to their souls and consciences, till he was, in St. Paul's words[g], διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου, δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφανωμένος, *for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour;* he, according to his human nature, and that was the only instrument whereby our salvation was to be wrought, had no power of sending the Holy Ghost.

43. And indeed till reconciliation was made by his death, to what purpose should the Holy Ghost be sent? what business or employment could we find for him on earth? You will say, to work grace and new obedience in us. I confess that is a work worthy the majesty and goodness of God's holy Spirit; but yet, suppose all this had been wrought in us; put case, our hearts were sprinkled from an evil conscience, and that we were renewed in the spirit of our minds; perhaps all this might procure us a more tolerable cool place and climate in hell; but without Christ, it would be far from advantaging us towards our salvation: for, alas! though we should turn never so holy, never so virtuous and reformed, what satisfaction or recompense could we make for our former sins and iniquities? God knows, it must *cost more to redeem a soul*, therefore we must let that alone for ever; we must take

[g] Heb. ii. 9.

heed of ever meddling in that office, we must let it alone to him, even Jesus Christ, who alone is able to be at that cost.

44. But I might have spared all these suppositions: for as, excluding Christ, there is no satisfaction, no hope of redemption for us; so excluding Christ's satisfaction, he hath no power or authority, as man, of sending the Holy Ghost, thereby to work in us an ability of performing the conditions of the second covenant; and by consequence, of making us capable of the fruit and benefit of his satisfaction. Therefore, blessed be God the Father, for the great glory which he gave unto Christ; and blessed be our Lord Jesus Christ, for meriting and purchasing that glory at so dear a rate; and blessed be the Holy Spirit, who, when Christ (who is *flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone*) did send him, would be content to come down and dwell among us.

45. We find in holy scripture that our salvation is ascribed to all the three Persons of the blessed Trinity, though in several respects: to the Father, who accepts of Christ's satisfaction, and offereth pardon of all our sins; to the Son, who merited and procured reconciliation for his elect faithful servants; and to the Holy Ghost the comforter, who being sent by the Son, worketh in us power to perform the conditions of the new covenant, thereby qualifying us for receiving actual remission of our sins, and a right to that glorious inheritance purchased for us.

46. And from hence may appear how full of danger the former doctrine is, which teacheth, that actual remission of sins is procured to God's elect immediately by Christ's death; and how dishonourable it is to the Spirit of grace, excluding him from having any concurrence or efficacy in our salvation. For if this should

be true, the powerful working of the Holy Spirit can in no sense concern either our justification or everlasting happiness. For how can it be said that the Holy Spirit doth cooperate to our salvation, since all our good and happiness was procured by Christ's death; not only before, but without all manner of respect had to our regeneration and sanctification, by the power of the blessed Spirit. Therefore by this doctrine, if we be any thing at all beholden to the Holy Spirit, it is only for this, that he is pleased now and then, by fits, to be a messenger or intelligencer, to discover unto us what Christ alone hath purchased for us.

47. But I forbear to enlarge myself further in this point; and indeed I have already done too much wrong to the honour and dignity of this feast, not only in mixing the business of Good Friday with it, as I did in my former part; but also, as I now have done, in taking in the matter and employment of Whitsuntide too. Suffice it therefore, that the sending of the Holy Ghost was an especial exercise of that power which was given Christ at his resurrection; by the influence and virtue whereof we do restrain and appropriate the merit of his death to our own good and benefit.

48. Now I would not be mistaken, as if I said, that the resurrection of Christ, precisely taken for that individual action, whereby he was restored to life and glory, was then effectual and powerful to produce those admirable effects: for that being a transient action, passed and finished many hundred years since, can very improperly be termed capable of having such effects ascribed to it, as have since, and shall to the end of the world be wrought in God's elect. Therefore St. Paul shall be my interpreter, in Rom. v. 10. saying, *If, when we were enemies, we were recon-*

ciled to God by the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life; that is, by that glorious life which began at his resurrection.

49. For as in the matter of satisfaction we ascribe our reconciliation to his death especially, yet not excluding his former obedience and humiliation; but naming that, as being the complement and perfection, terminating whatsoever went before; so likewise, in Christ's exaltation, though there were divers degrees and ascents and stages of it; yet we especially take notice of his resurrection, because in that Christ took his rise as it were, and was then *a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, rejoicing as a giant to run his race. His goings out indeed were from the grave, but his circuit is to the ends of heaven, and nothing is hid from his heat and virtue*[k]. He illuminates every man that cometh into the world: *He was made,* saith St. Paul, *a quickening spirit;* cherishing, actuating, and informing us with life and motion. By the influence and power of his life he undergoes, as it were, a second incarnation, living and dwelling in our hearts by his grace, and reigning powerfully in our souls by faith.

50. And hereby he even shares his kingdom, his power, and his victory with us: for, saith St. John, *This is the victory whereby ye overcome the world, even your faith.* Christ is not content only to destroy in us the works of darkness, to dispel the clouds of ignorance and error, or to rectify the crookedness and perverseness of our wills; neither yet to implant in us a heavy, unactive, sleepy harmlessness, a dull lethargic innocence; but withal indues us *justitia germinante,* with a fruitful, budding righteousness, and works in us, in the expression of St. Paul, both[l] ὑπομονὴν τῆς ἐλπίδος, a patient, unwearied hope, not hasty nor discon-

[k] Psalm xix. 5, 6. [l] 1 Thess. i. 3.

tented with expecting; and κόπον τῆς ἀγάπης, a painful, laborious love; and ἔργον τῆς πίστεως, a working, sprightful, victorious faith, whereby we violently lay hold on the promises. And in this sense the same apostle saith[m], that as *Christ died for our sins, so he rose again for our justification;* that is, one chief end of Christ's resurrection, in respect of us, was to work in us a lively faith, whereby we might be justified, and acquitted from our sins.

51. And yet the power of Christ's life leaves us not here neither: nay, all this is performed only to make us capable of greater blessings yet. For by our sanctification and new birth we are (saith Tertullian[n]) *restitutione inaugurati*, destined and consecrated to a glorious resurrection. Hereupon St. John calls holiness the first resurrection, whereby sin is destroyed: and it is a pawn of the second, whereby death also shall be swallowed up in victory. By the first the sting of the serpent is taken away, which is sin, as St. Paul saith, *the sting of death is sin*, and when the sting is gone, the serpent cannot long outlive it; for by the second resurrection that also is destroyed.

52. But you will say, how is death destroyed? Do not all men die? Do not all men see corruption? You may as well ask, how is sin destroyed? For, *have not all men sinned, and come short of the glory of God?* Nay, do not all men sin, how righteous soever? And, if they were rewarded according to their own demerits, would they not all *come short of the glory of God?* Most certainly true: therefore to say the truth, as yet, neither sin nor death are destroyed, but only the dominion of sin, and the victory of the grave. And thereupon the apostle contemplating the conquering power of Christ at his resurrection, saith not, *O death,*

[m] Rom. iv. 24. [n] Tertull. De Res. Carnis.

or, *O grave, where are you?* (for a little travel would serve the turn to assoil that question,) but, *O death, where is thy sting*[o]? How comes it to pass that thy poison is not so keen and mortal as it hath been? that it is so easily, though not expelled, yet tempered and corrected by the healing bezoartical virtue of grace? And thou, *O grave, where is thy victory?* Though thou hast given thine adversary the foil, though thou hast gotten him under thee, yet thou shalt never be able to detain him long: for, *behold, a little while, and he that shall come will come, and will not tarry:* he will ransack the most private reserved corners of thy treasury; and though thou mayest consume and devour our bodies, yet he will force thee to vomit and disgorge them again: he will not leave one portion, one morsel of them in thy stomach and entrails.

53. I know, the ingenious and learned Paræus, because he would not suffer any portion of the merit of Christ's death to be extended and meant to the ungodly, or that he by the fruit of his passion should obtain any power over them, will therefore, consequently, exclude them from the efficacy and power of his resurrection and life; he will not allow them to be raised by the power of Christ, but only by the justice of God to their own condemnation: so that, by his reckoning, the great business and work of the last day shall not wholly lie upon Christ's hands to perform, but shall be parted and shared between the power of Christ and the justice of God.

54. I am confidently persuaded St. Paul in this point was not of his mind, when he saith, *As in Adam all have died, so by Christ shall all* (all without exception) *be made alive again*; and, *As by man came death, so by man also cometh the resurrection of the dead.* Indeed,

[o] 1 Cor. xv. 55.

I wonder Paræus would not likewise find some shift to exclude Christ as well from being a judge to condemn the wicked: for with as much reason and as great ease he might have given him a writ of ease, a discharge from that office as well as the other.

55. And now I could wish I had said nothing all this while, (and likely enough so could you;) but it grieves me, that the portion of time allowed me will not suffer me, in any reasonable proportion, to contemplate the wonderful mercy and goodness of God; who, to do us good, has given such power to our nature in Christ, to make a new heaven and a new earth, to restore a new generation of creatures, ten times more glorious and perfect than the first. Only, now tell me, did not St. Paul, with good reason, speaking of the resurrection of Christ, give it an advantage and pre-eminence, even above his death? Is not the μᾶλλον δὲ in my text, the *yea rather, verbum* ταλανταῖον, a word of great moment and weight? since the resurrection of Christ actuates and ripens the fruit of Christ's death, which without it would have withered, and been of no help to us. Is not the doctrine of Christ's resurrection and exaltation with as good reason made an article of our Creed, and as necessarily, if not rather, to be leaned upon, as any of the rest? Nay, hath not St. Paul epitomized the whole Creed into that one article, saying, (in Rom. x. 9,) *If thou shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised the Lord Jesus from the dead, thou shalt be saved?*

56. And now it is time to consider who are the persons whom the death, yea rather, the resurrection of Christ, will protect and warrant from condemnation. In my text, as we find none to condemn, so likewise we cannot light upon any to be condemned. In the verse immediately before these words, the elect of God

are those which are justified, and therefore must not be condemned. And to say the truth, though we dispute till the world's end, the event will shew, that the elect of God, and only they, shall reap the harvest of Christ's sufferings, and bring their sheaves with them. As for the wicked and reprobates, it shall not be so with them; but why it shall not be so with them, whether, because they have wilfully excluded themselves, or, because God had no mind they should be any thing the better for these things, I will not tell you.

57. In the verses on both sides of my text we find, that we are those that must not be condemned. We? Which we? Why Paul and the Romans, Jews and Gentiles. What all Jews, and all Gentiles? I told you, I will not tell: only thus much let me tell you, we may boldly maintain St. Paul's phrase: nay, it is unsafe, and dangerous to alter it. Why, it is all the comfort we have to live by; it is our glory and crown of rejoicing, that we are those whose salvation Christ did so earnestly and unfeignedly desire and thirst after; that, to obtain power and authority to bestow it on us, he suffered such torments and blasphemies, that *never sorrow was like unto his sorrow, which was done unto him, wherewith the Lord afflicted him in the day of his fierce wrath.*

58. Wherefore, I beseech you, (beloved brethren,) even by the bowels of this Jesus Christ, that you would give me leave to advise you, if there be any here fit to be advised by me, if there be any in this company as weak and ignorant as myself, (and though my heart be deceitful above all things, yet as far as I understand mine own heart, if I speak these words out of partiality or faction, let me be excluded from having my part in those merits,) I say, let me desire you, or

rather, let our holy mother the church persuade you, (in the 17th article,) to receive God's promises in such wise as they are generally set forth to us in holy scriptures.

59. For, consider impartially with yourselves, what an unreasonable, horrible thing is it, seeing there are so many several, frequent expressions of God's general love and gracious favour unto mankind, enforced and strengthened with such protestations and solemn oaths, that the cunningest linguist of you all cannot, with your whole life's study, conceive or frame expressions more full and satisfactory; I say then, is it not desperate madness for a man to shew such hatred and abomination at these comfortable and gracious professions of God, that he can be content to spend almost his whole age in contriving and hunting after interpretations utterly contradicting and destroying the plain, apparent sense of those scriptures; and will be glad and heartily comforted to hear tidings of a new-found-out gloss, to p ervert, and rack, and torment God's holy word?

60. On the other side, far be it from us to think that it is in our power, when we list or have a mind to it, to put ourselves in the number of God's elect, faithful servants; or to imagine, that we have God so sure chained and fettered to us by his promises, that we may dispense now and then for the commission of a delightful, gainful crime; or that, when we have business for a sin to advantage us in our fortunes, we need not be too scrupulous about it, seeing God is bound, upon our sorrow and contrition, to receive us again into favour. Thou wretched fool! darest thou make an advantage of God's goodness, to assist and patronise thy security? It is true, God has promised remission of sins to a repentant, contrite sinner; but

has he assured thee that he will give thee repentance, whensoever thou pleasest to allow thyself leisure to seek it? No: know, that there is a time (and presuming security, like sleep, doth hasten and add wings to that time) when there will be *found no place for repentance, though thou seekest it with tears.* And thus more than I meant for the persons.

61. And now what remains, but that we try an experiment: that we may know in what a comfortable state Christ hath set us, let us consider, and look about us, to see if we can find any enemies that are likely to do us any harm: for which purpose we shall not meet with a more accurate spy and intelligencer than St. Paul, who in the remainder of this chapter, after my text, hath mustered them together in one roll. But first, there is one, if he were our adversary, he would be instead of a thousand enemies unto us, and that is GOD. But him we are sure of in the verse before my text; for it is he that justifies, therefore surely he will not condemn: therefore what say you to *tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or the sword?* Why, these are not worthy the naming; for over all these *we are more than conquerors.* More than conquerors? what is that? Why they are not only overcome and disarmed, but they are brought over to our faction; they war on our side.

62. Well, in the next file, there follow adversaries of better fashion; there is *life, and death, and angels, and principalities, and powers.* Who are those? In truth I know not; but be they who they will, they can do us no harm: no, *nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth* (these are adversaries we should scarce have dreamed of). And to make all sure in a word, there is *no other creature shall ever*

be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Jesus Christ our Lord.

63. Yet for all St. Paul's exactness, there remains one enemy behind, and that is a sore one, of prime note; and truly I wonder how the apostle could miss him. And that is sin. I would to God St. Paul had taken notice of him: for this one enemy is able to do us more harm than all the rest put together; nay, but for sin, all the rest almost were our very good friends. Had we best supply St. Paul's incogitancy, and even adventure to put him in the catalogue too? Well, let them that have a mind to it, do it; truly, I dare not. And but that I know Martin Luther was a bold spirited man, I should wonder how he durst so confidently have adventured upon it: in his book, entitled, *Captivitatis Babylonicæ*, (*cap. de Baptismo*, near the beginning,) he hath these words: *Vides quam dives sit homo Christianus sive baptizatus, qui etiam volens non potest perdere suam salutem quantiscunque peccatis, nisi nolit credere.* I will not translate them to you; and I would they never had been Englished; for by that means, it may be, some of our loudest preachers would have wanted one point of comfortable false doctrine, wherewith they are wont to pleasure their friends and benefactors. Only, let us do thus much for St. Paul's credit, to believe it was not merely inconsideration in him to leave out sin in this catalogue; that there was some ground of reason for it: for though it may come to pass, by the mercy and goodness of God, that even sin itself shall not pluck us out of his hand, yet it would be something a strange, preposterous doctrine, for a preacher of the new covenant to proclaim, that we shall undoubtedly obtain the promises of the covenant, though we never so much break the conditions.

64. I do confess myself very guilty, and am sorry that I have thus long exercised and wearied your patience, and yet, for all that, have not performed that task which I fully resolved upon when I adventured upon this subject; and that was, to spend this time in raising our devotions to the contemplation of the glorious mercies of God, expressed to us in Christ's resurrection and exaltation. But because other thoughts have carried me away (even against my will) almost all this while, I shall further take leave to wrong and injure your patience, with proposing one consideration more, which ought by no means to be omitted.

65. And that is, to take notice of the Person to whom we have been beholden for these unspeakable mercies; and that is Christ, Christ alone, none else mentioned or thought upon. If Bellarmine had been to advise St. Paul, if he had been privy to the writing of this Epistle, it is likely he would not have taken it ill to have had Christ's name in the matter of our salvation; but he would not have endured the apostle's utter silence of all helps and aids besides: yea, though himself acknowledgeth it to be the safest course, to put our whole confidence only in the mercy of God; yet, *quia magis honorificum est habere aliquid ex merito*, because it concerns our credit to put in a little for merit and desert on our side, he would not have us so to disparage ourselves, as to make salvation a mere alms, proceeding merely out of courtesy.

66. Nay but, O thou man! what art thou that answerest against God? what art thou that justifiest thyself before him? nay, what art thou that condemnest God, making him a liar all the scripture over? the whole project whereof is this, to let us know how unable, how sick, how dead we are of ourselves,

and therefore ought most necessarily to have recourse to him for our salvation. As for us, beloved Christians, if we must needs rejoice, let us rejoice, let us rejoice in our infirmities; let our glory be our shame, and let us lift up our eyes and behold, [a] *Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? this that is glorious in his apparel, travelling in the greatness of his strength?* And Christ will say, *It is I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save.* But, *wherefore, Lord, art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that treadeth in the wine-fat?* He will answer, *I have trodden the winepress alone, and of the people there was none with me;* for which reason I am now *crowned with glory and honour, and immortality: I alone am mighty to save, and besides me there is none other.*

67. And *good luck have thou with thine honour, O Lord; ride on, because of thy word of truth, of meekness, and of righteousness; and thy right hand shall teach thee terrible things* [b]; terrible things for the king's enemies, for them which would not have thee to rule over them. And good luck have we with thine honour, O Lord; ride on, because of thy word of truth, of meekness, and of righteousness; and thy right hand shall teach thee gracious and comfortable things for us thy servants, and sheep of thy pasture, who dare not exalt a weak arm of flesh against thee. Thy right hand shall mightily defend us in the midst of all our enemies. Thy right hand shall find us out, and gather us up, though lost and consumed in the grave; though scattered before the four winds of heaven: and, thy right hand shall exalt us to glory and immortality for ever with thee in thy heavenly kingdom, where all the days of our life, yea, all the days of thy glorious end-

[a] Isa. lxiii. 1, 2. [b] Psalm xlv. 4.

less life, we shall, with angels and archangels, say, *Glory, and honour, and power, and immortality be unto him which sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb, and to the Holy Spirit, for ever and for ever.* Amen, Amen.

SERMON VI.

LUKE XVI. 9.

Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations.

THE children of this world, saith Christ, *are wiser in their generation than the children of light.* To make which good, our Saviour, in so much of the chapter as goes before my text, brings in a story, or, as they call it, a parable, of a cunning fellow, yet no great projector neither, no very subtile politician; notwithstanding, one who being in an extremity, turned out of his office for mispending his master's goods, had found out a shift, and that by mere cozenage, to procure so much as would serve to keep him, indeed not according to the port and fashion after which before he had lived, but only to maintain him in meat and drink, out of danger of starving, or, which was more fearful, because more full of trouble or dishonour, hard labour or begging.

2. Surely it had been no hard matter for our Saviour, who knew all whatsoever was in man, to have discovered more subtile projects, plots of a finer and more curious contrivance than this fellow's; but this, it seems, would serve his turn well enough for the purpose for which he made use of it: and to say the truth, there cannot be imagined an example more exactly suiting, more closely applicable to his intent; which was, first, not to discredit and dishearten his followers, by com-

paring and preferring the cunning of an ordinary fellow, a mere bailiff, or steward, before that spiritual, heavenly wisdom, to which they pretend; nor, secondly, to instruct them by indirect and unwarrantable courses to provide for themselves hereafter; but chiefly this:

3. To teach us, by objecting to our view a man, who, by his own negligence and carelessness being brought to an extremity, (for there was no necessity he should be brought to these plunges; a little timely care and providence, even ordinary honesty, would easily have warranted and preserved him,) had upon the sudden found out a trick of his office, namely, by proceeding in his old courses of wasting his master's substance to the enriching of his fellowservants, and thereby gained their good-wills, that for the time following they might preserve him from perishing.

4. Our Saviour, I say, by this example, would teach us, that since God hath placed us here in this world as his stewards, has put into our hands his goods, his riches, to be dispensed for his use and advantage: and such stewards (we are) who have advantages infinitely more urgent and pressing us to an honest, faithful discharge of our office, than this man in the parable ever had: as first, we must of necessity fail and be cashiered of our office: all the power of heaven and earth cannot procure us a perpetuity in it: the case did not stand so with this man, for it was merely his own fault to deserve discarding; and besides, having deserved that censure, it was his misfortune too that his lord should come to the knowledge of it; for it is no impossible thing, that a steward should thrive by his lord's loss, and yet never be called to an account for it; and, secondly, upon our behaviour in this our office depends the everlasting welfare of our souls and bodies;

we shall for ever be disposed of, according to the honest or unfaithful discharge of our place: if ill, Lord, what shall become of us? where shall we appear in that great day of account? I dare not almost tell you the issue of it: but if we have carried ourselves as faithful servants; propose to yourselves your own conditions, give your thoughts license and scope to be excessive and overflowing in their desires; if the whole extension and capacity of your thoughts be not satisfied and filled to the brim, with measure pressed down and running over, God himself (which is impossible to imagine) will prove a deceiving, unfaithful Master.

5. These things therefore considered, without question it doth infinitely concern us to consult and project what we mean to do with our riches; to what employment we intend to put those honours and that power which God hath conferred on us in this life: whether to receive them as our good things, to go away contented with them as our rewards, our final rewards, expecting no other good things from God after them; or, which is our Saviour's advice, use them as means and helps of attaining blessings above all conceivable proportion exceeding them; so dispensing and providently scattering them abroad, that against our time of need (which sooner or later will undoubtedly come) we may oblige to ourselves such friends, so gracious, and prevailing with our Master, who, either by their prayers and intercessions, or some other way which we know not, may procure for us admission into our Master's joys, to be no longer stewards and servants, but friends and sons: thus by the help and benefit of this *mammon of unrighteousness* in my text, *these little things*, even the least blessings that God has to bestow upon us, so called in

the verse following, and in the next but one to that, these *things of other men*, as if they were trifles, not worthy the owning, if compared with what rewards may be had in exchange for them, purchasing to ourselves everlasting and glorious rewards; by the assistance of our riches (in the expression of St. Paul) *laying up for ourselves a foundation of good works against the time to come, that we may lay hold on eternal life.*

6. And this I suppose to be the force and meaning of this ἐπιμύθιον, or moral of the parable, which Christ hath closely contrived and pressed into these few words, *Make to yourselves friends of the* &c. In which words I shall observe unto you these three general parts:

1. What we must expect at last, notwithstanding all the riches and pomps of this world, i. e. *to fail.* Christ, you see, makes no question at all of it, he takes it for granted, where he says, *that when ye fail,* as implying, that certainly fail we must.
2. This being supposed, that fail we must, the counsel of Christ comes in very seasonably, namely, to provide for the main, to take order, that though we ourselves sink, yet we may procure us friends to support us in our necessities; and that is, *by making to ourselves friends of the mammon* &c.
3. The comfortable issue and convenience which shall accrue unto us by those friends thus purchased, i. e. by them *to be received into everlasting* &c. Of these in the order proposed.

7. You do not expect, I am sure, that I should go about seriously to persuade you that you shall not live here for ever. For, whom should I seek to persuade? God forbid I should be so uncharitable as to think, or

but suspect, that ever I should find occasion to make use of any persuasions for such a purpose! Indeed a very good man (it was the prophet David) once said *in his prosperity, I shall never be removed, thou, Lord, of thy goodness hast made my hill so strong*[a]. But was this well said of him, think you? It seems not: for presently, to confute this his confidence, *the Lord did but turn his face away from him, and he was troubled*[b]. Yet surely such a speech as this could never be spoken upon better grounds; for this his assurance, it seems, proceeded not out of any presumptuous confidence of his own strength or policy, but only out of consideration of God's especial providence shewed in his wonderful preservation from many great and imminent dangers, and in preferring him from a low contemptible fortune, to the rule and dominion over his people.

8. There is another fellow in a parable[c], who, though he came short of David in this his unwarrantable confidence and presumption upon that foundation of riches and wealth, which with unwearied anxiety and care he had laid up, notwithstanding was more suddenly and unanswerably confuted: for he did not promise to himself a perpetuity, only he imagined to himself, (as he thought, reasonably,) that since he had at last obtained that which he had aimed at, and which had cost him so many years' travail, it were fit for him now to enjoy the fruit which he had so dearly bought. And in a joyful contemplation of this his happiness, he enters into dialogue with his soul; *Soul*, saith he, now *take thy rest;* no more shalt thou be vexed, and even consumed with the painful and violent thirst after riches, thou hast that laid up for thee which shall abundantly satisfy all thy desires.

[a] Psalm xxx. 6, 7. [b] Psalm xxx. 7. [c] Luke xii.

All my business hereafter shall be to find out ways how to repay unto my soul all those pleasures which heretofore I have denied unto myself: I have store sufficient for many years' expenses safely laid up in my barns. Yet for all this man's thus pleasing himself with assured promises of many years' happiness; if you will but vouchsafe to inquire after him the very next day after he spoke thus, his garners, it is likely, you may yet find standing, thronged and oppressed with the abundance of corn; but for his soul (for whose sake all this ado had been kept) the Lord knows what became of that; it was hurried away, no man can tell whither.

9. Now the thing that it becomes me to desire at your hands from the consideration of these two examples, is this, not to require of you to believe that you must once fail, (for that I suppose were needless,) nor yet to dissuade you from allowing to yourselves a reasonable use of, and moderate lawful pleasures from, that abundance of blessings wherewith God hath enriched you beyond all other men; but to beseech you that this meditation, that certainly you must fail, may be no unwelcome thought to you; that when the time shall come that you must leave these riches and pleasures which God has given you here to enjoy, it may not come upon you as an unexpected misfortune, as a thing you were afraid of, and would willingly be content to avoid.

10. I confess this were a meditation sufficient to discourage and quite dishearten a man, that were resolved to take up his rest in the pleasures and preferments of this world; that were content to sit down satisfied with such a slight happiness as this life is able to afford him; for one, who would make riches his strong city, a place of refuge and security, a fortress

whereto he would have recourse in all his extremities, and from whence he would expect safety in all dangers and troubles which may assail him: for what were that, but to withdraw him from his strong holds, and leave him unfortified, and exposed to any injury and misfortune? How could I be more injurious to such a man, than to vex and affright him with such sad melancholic thoughts as these: that the time will come, when that strong castle of his, his riches, shall be undermined and demolished, when he shall be left naked and defenceless; at which time, if it were possible for him to retain his riches, which before he made his bulwark and place of security, yet he will find them but paper walls, unable to stand the weakest battery?

11. But I hope better things of you, beloved Christians, even things which accompany salvation: and indeed why should I not? Who can forbid me to hope so? For, alas! I know you not. I have no reason to assure myself of the contrary. And then I should be most inexcusably uncharitable, if I should not even rejoice in this my hope. I see God hath plentifully showered down upon you, almost overwhelmed you with all the blessings of this life. He has moreover given you peaceable times to enjoy them, (blessed be his holy name for it, and a thousand blessings be returned into the bosom of his anointed, for his most pious, Christian-like care to confirm this peace, and to preserve it from interruption,) God, I say, has given you leisure and opportunity to enjoy and improve these your riches for your everlasting happiness: a comfort, which he has denied almost to all other nations; nothing abroad but wars, and rumours of wars; no joy nor comfort, but only in the effusion of precious Christian blood; nothing but sacking of

towns, and invasions of countries, God only knows upon how just pretensions. But, which is above all other blessings, (indeed without which all the rest will prove very curses,) God has given you an abundant plentiful use of his blessed word and sacraments, every week, several times (till now) a worthy and able clergy to put you in mind, how great an account you are to make to Almighty God of these his blessings, and what extraordinary interest is expected at your hands.

12. Let me not therefore, I beseech you, be your enemy, if I prove troublesome to any slumbering, lethargic spirit; if I put him in mind, that the time will come, when sleep shall for ever depart from his eyes, and that if his slumber last till a trumpet awake him, darkness he may find, most palpable, Egyptian darkness, but not darkness commodious to call on and procure sleep, not very convenient to take one's rest in. Forgive, I beseech you, my importunity, if I earnestly desire you frequently to represent to your minds a time of failing, and presently after that a severe, inexorable judge, requiring a strict, exact account of your behaviour in your stewardship: if I beseech you, from the consideration of the foolish virgins, not to put far from you the coming of the Bridegroom; not to frame to yourselves reasons and probabilities, why he is not likely to come yet a good while, (for he himself has told you, he *will come as a thief in the night*, and therefore when you are thus secure and slumbering, yourselves create a night, a fit season for him to come unawares upon you,) for if you be unprovided of oil in your lamps, of good works, which may shine before men, and the door be once shut, talk not of any new devised faith, and I know not what assurance; there is no possibility of ever having it opened, but you shall be forced to remain

exposed to all dangers, to all manner of misfortunes, not one shall be found to befriend you, and to receive you into *everlasting habitations.*

13. And, I pray you, consider, that if the apprehension of these things conceived, not as present, but as to be expected, it may be many years hence, be so distasteful and ominous to flesh and blood, who will be able to abide the time when it shall indeed overtake him? If now in these days of leisure and forbearance, (a season which God out of his glorious mercy hath allowed us on purpose to spend in such thoughts as these, in projecting against the evil day,) the meditation thereof bring such anguish and torment along with it; what terrible, insupportable effects will it work in us, when we shall find ourselves surprised by it, and caught as in a snare! If a man can no sooner hear such things related, or but seriously think upon them, though in the height of his jollity, but straight, as if some ill news had been told him, as if he had heard some sad tragical story of his own misfortunes, he will presently recoil from his mirth, pleasure will become troublesome and distasteful to him; oh with what anguish and vexation of spirit, with what agony of soul shall they be entertained, when they come in earnest!

14. Observe therefore, I beseech you, that our Saviour does not bid you, when you fail, *make to yourselves friends;* no, alas! that is not the time to make friends in; then is the season when you are to expect comfort and assistance from those friends which you have gained before, in the time when you were furnished with such good things as were likely to oblige men unto you. What title then can be found out equal to express the folly and madness of such people, who, as if God had created them on purpose for the pleasures and vanities of this world, make that the whole

business of their lives; and, as if the care of their soul's everlasting disposal were but an employment of an hour's dispatch, will not vouchsafe so fruitlessly to cast away any part of the time, when their souls are vigorous and healthful, about such a trifling design; but destine their last few hours, when they are unable for any business else, to settle for themselves an estate of eternity.

15. But because I have not the leisure now to prosecute this argument as fully as it may deserve, give me leave, I pray you, in brief, to present to your view a man brought to such an extremity as this; one fastened and chained unto the bed of sickness, one that has already received within himself the messages of death, *death beginning* (in the language of the Psalmist) *to gnaw upon him*. Take the pains, I beseech you, to imagine to yourselves (and it will require some courage but to consider it) what unquiet busy thoughts shall then possess him, what terrible affrighting meditations shall then be suggested to him, when he shall be forced to apprehend, that now he has but a very small portion of time left him; and yet for all that, all the business, for the dispatching of which he came into the world, is left undone; the counsel and good intention of God, out of which he gave him his riches, being utterly defeated, scarce one friend made that will vouchsafe to look upon him now in his necessity; but, on the contrary, many sore enemies procured, that will be ready to cry for vengeance against him: no account to be found of the dispensation of those goods which God has given him, but such a one as will serve to feed and nourish the distemper and sickness of his thoughts; so much (may be) spent in the prosecution and fulfilling of his ungodly lusts, so much in gorgeous raiment and delicious feeding, yet all this while scarce one poor

Lazarus obliged. Now all the remedy that is to be had in such an exigence as this, is to have the next preacher sent for, who must instil a little comfortable divinity into him, to make him sleep, and so his soul departs, the Lord knows whither. And yet these are but the beginning of sorrows, but what the end and perfection of them will be, I confess I have not the courage to tell you.

16. *Obj.* 1. But yet for all this, I know men are apt so much to favour themselves in their security, they will be ready to produce that famous example of the thief on the cross to confute me, and to testify, that even he that shall at the last push, as it were, have recourse unto God's mercy, is not altogether hopeless. *Obj.* 2. Besides, did not he, who came the last hour of the day to labour in the vineyard, receive the same wages with them who had suffered the toil and heat of the whole day?

Sol. 1. For the thief on the cross, there can lie no exception against the example. But yet consider, I pray you, that from the beginning of the world, till the time that the scripture canon was sealed up, there is not to be found one example more to equal it. Besides, it was done at the time of Christ's suffering; a season wherein God, in that one act of the redemption of the world by the death of his Son, expressed the very utmost of his mercy, and discovered unto the world, as it were, in one entire sum, all the riches and treasures of his goodness. If therefore, at such a time, he was pleased to work a miracle of mercy upon one, who probably having spent his whole life in ungodly, forbidden courses, had not, till then, lit upon any extraordinary opportunities and means, able to break in pieces, and melt his flinty obdurate heart; can this example then be any advantage to you, who every day,

almost, have more than sufficient means and offers of grace, and are continually threatened with the danger of deferring your repentance, and of prolonging the time of making up your accounts; since you neither do nor must know the day nor hour when God will expect them at your hands?

17. As concerning the man which was called the last hour of the day to labour in the vineyard; I pray you take notice, that this man was a labourer; and though he took pains but for a short time, yet labour he did: whereas he that shall defer his repentance and amendment of life till his last hour, if he indeed prove sorry for his sins, yet labour he cannot; the best that he can do is, to make offers and resolutions to work the good work of God, if it shall please him to spare him life: but that those resolutions of his shall be accepted with God, instead of real, very labour indeed, I find no commission to assure you. But I confess, it is something unseasonably done of me, to stand, so long at least, upon such sullen, melancholic meditations as these are; especially now in the midst of this solemn, glorious feast: therefore I am resolved even abruptly to break through them, and to hasten to my second general, which is the counsel which our Saviour gives us upon this consideration, that necessarily we must fail; namely, to provide and seriously project against that time, by all the means that we can make, to oblige to ourselves friends in that extremity; expressed in these words, *Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness.*

18. *Mammon of unrighteousness:* what is that? Shall I deal freely and honestly with you? Indeed I will: for woe unto me, if I should dare to come into this place to flatter you; and woe unto me, if I should dare to come into this place to vent my spleen against

any. Then all this, for which there is such ado kept, not only here, but all the world over; such making of friends, nay, such undermining of friends, so many dangers sought out and despised; this is *the mammon of unrighteousness*. An untoward name, I confess, for a thing so much set by, so carefully and ambitiously courted, so insatiably thirsted after; but yet a name of Christ's devising. He has afforded this idol, riches, no better a title; and therefore I must, and dare call them so, any where.

19. But may it not be lawful to inquire after, or give some guesses at least, at the reasons which might move our Saviour to put so disgraceful a name upon riches? Without question, it is not only lawful to be so curious, but also very useful and expedient. A main reason (I have heard) is, because ordinarily riches leave a tincture and infection in the persons who have any thing to do with them. It is a hard thing, almost impossible, for a man any ways to meddle with them without sin: ordinarily, they are got with sin, they are possessed with sin, they are spent with sin. A man (saith Siracides) cannot hasten to be rich without sin; and when he has once got them, how unwilling will he be to let a lust pass unsatisfied, seeing he is furnished with that, to which (in his opinion at least) nothing can be denied! How unwilling will he be to be worsted, though in the most unjust cause, seeing he is furnished with that, which will blind the eyes of the prudent, and pervert the understanding of the wise; for (saith the same Wise Man) *as a man's riches, so his anger increaseth*. And upon the same grounds it may be said, that as a man's riches increase, so likewise his desires and lusts increase. I will undertake to give you one reason more, why riches are called *mammon of unrighteousness;* and it is, because they are mammon, riches

indeed, only to unrighteous men; none beside such will rest contented with them, and suffer God to depart from him without a greater blessing than they can be.

20. But what need I trouble myself about inquiring after reasons, why this so universally adored idol, mammon, is so dishonourably branded and stigmatized by our Saviour, since himself in another place has said enough of it; which may suffice not only to warrant the reasonableness of this title, but also to make them, who are apt to glory so much in riches, if they well consider it, even to envy the happiness and security of those who are not trusted with so dangerous wares. The words were spoken upon occasion of a sudden great sorrow and melancholy which appeared in a young man's countenance, and procured by the temptations of riches, which made him refuse the most advantageous bargain that ever was offered to man. Whereupon saith Christ to his disciples, (as his words are recorded by St. Matthew[d],) *Verily I say unto you, That a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. And again I say unto you,* that *it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.* Indeed, St. Mark reports this speech something more largely than it is there, and, instead of *a rich man,* puts in, *one that trusteth in his riches*[e]; which he does not so much to explain the phrase of the speech, as to give a reason of the impossibility.

21. For if our Saviour in saying, *It is impossible for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven,* by *a rich man* had meant *one that trusteth in his riches,* there had been no sufficient ground for so great an amazement as seized upon the disciples at the hear-

[d] Matt. xix. 23, 24. [e] Mark x. 20, 24.

ing of it; for that was a thing which they knew well enough before; not the most ignorant of his hearers but could have told him as much. Therefore St. Matthew's and St. Mark's words joined together will make up this sense, (and I make no question at all but that it was Christ's meaning,) namely, that it is even almost impossible for a rich man to be saved, because he cannot choose but trust in his riches.

22. And this is more clearly evinced by that satisfaction which our Saviour gave to his disciples to recover them from their astonishment; where he says, *With men it is impossible, but not with God; for with God all things are possible;* intimating thus much, that considering the great, almost irresistible temptations, which riches carry along with them, and man's extreme weakness and natural impotency; his willing propension, and, to all ordinary, natural means, most incurable inclination to make them his place of rest, his strong city, wherein he trusts; it is impossible that, these things meeting together, he should not put his confidence in them, and so make himself incapable of heaven, between which and riches thus used, there is as large, as unpassable a gulf as between heaven and hell: *With men,* therefore, *these things are impossible, but not with God; for with him all things are possible:* it is in his power, by the help and assistance of that grace which he showers upon every one of us in baptism, to cure this hereditary weakness and sickness of our natures, and to render us healthful and vigorous, powerful enough to free ourselves from that bondage and slavery, wherein these outward, worldly blessings are apt to captive us, and whereunto by nature we do willingly submit ourselves: it is in his power to make those pernicious pleasures, which riches may promise unto us, to become unwelcome and distasteful unto us:

nay, which is more, it is in his power to make even this *mammon of unrighteousness*, against its own nature, to become an help and instrument to procure for us the true riches, even those invaluable treasures, which God hath laid up in heaven for us. Take it not ill therefore, I beseech you, if that, for which you are so much envied and reverenced above other men, be so undervalued by our Saviour, in comparison with the true riches; be not angry with our Saviour for it; but rather endeavour, by trading providently with them, for your own and others' benefit, to render Christ's language in this place improper and abusive.

23. But now if riches deserve no better a title at our Saviour's hands, how can it be likely that they can prove fit instruments to procure friends, and such friends as we stand in need of? *For, do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?* Indeed the argument held well on St. Paul's side, when he says, *If we have sowed to you spiritual things, is it much if we reap your temporal things?* But will the argument hold also on Christ's part? *If ye have not been faithful in the mammon of unrighteousness, who will trust you with the true riches?* Certainly, if it does not, not only this, but divers chapters besides, might, without any loss, have been left out of the gospel.

24. And therefore it was a sullen, ill-natured fellow, (he in the parable, I mean, which received the one talent,) and without all question a shameless liar, (though I fear there be many who are not very averse from his opinion,) who with an impudent face durst tell God, *he was austere, reaping where he had not sown, and gathering where he had not scattered.* And though he spake this with the same confidence that his proselytes do in these our days, not as a probable opinion, but as a thing that he is assured of, (for, says

he, *I know thee, that thou art austere,* &c.) yet I beseech you believe him not: no, no, our God is a gracious God, and requires of us no more than we are able to do. He does not expect faith, and repentance, and good works, where he has given no abilities to perform them: nay, doth not God by his prophet tell us, (and Christ repeats it in his parable,) that he is so far from that, that after several years' labour bestowed on his vineyard, and yet no fruit issuing, yet he was content to expect one year longer, even till he had done so much that no more could be done? He is at a stay, and asks, What he could have done more?

25. It were therefore very fit and convenient that we should, at least in our own hearts, silence and stifle such opinions concerning God as these are; and believe that he is a well-wisher to us, when he bestows any means upon us whereby we may do good. Otherwise we shall, without any comfort or courage, heartlessly, and even sleepily, go about the performing of what Christ here counsels us to. If you will not believe me upon my word, take the man's own confession: says he, When I had once entertained this persuasion, that God would expect a more yielding, plentiful harvest, fruitful beyond that proportion of seed which he gave me to sow, *I was afraid;* horror and uncomfortable thoughts seized upon me, and I went and hid my talent in a napkin; I even sat still, resolved to put all to an adventure, and to expect what God would do with me; for, alas! how bootless, and to no purpose, would my weak endeavours be, to procure the favour of such a God, that would not be content but with a great deal more than lay in my power to perform!

26. It is true indeed, Christ told him, that though he had had such an unworthy prejudicial conceit of him, yet that even from thence he might have been moved to have made the best and most advantageous use of

that talent which God had bestowed on him; for, says Christ, *If thou knewest I was austere, why didst thou not therefore put my money into the exchanger's hands, and trade with it, that I might have received mine own with increase?* Why didst thou not at the least do thy best to give satisfaction to thy hard, austere master? God forbid that I should doubt, but there are thousands, who, though it may be they have entertained this man's opinion and conceit of God, yet make better use of it than he did. But yet the man's own confession shews what ordinarily and naturally is the fruit and issue of it.

27. That therefore which God sows among you is riches; but yet riches most improperly so called; that which he scatters and strews abroad is the mammon of unrighteousness: *now he which soweth* (saith the apostle) *soweth in hope;* and he which scattereth scattereth in hope: but what gain or interest, what a kind of harvest does God hope for after this his seed-time? Why just such another as the same apostle speaks of, where he discourses upon the resurrection and glorious change of these our bodies: *They are sown*, saith he[a], *in corruption, but are raised in incorruption; they are sown in dishonour, but are raised in glory; they are sown in weakness, but are raised in power; they are sown natural bodies, but are raised spiritual heavenly bodies.* In like manner, God sows among you those riches, which himself, most disgracefully, calls *the mammon of unrighteousness*, in hope that he may reap the true riches: he scatters among you such small trifles, that many, even heathen men, have been content to want for the empty aërial reward of fame; nay, that some of them have been content to cast away in an humour; and these small things he scatters abroad,

[a] 1 Cor. xv. 42, 43, 44.

in hope that he may gather (what think you?) the everlasting salvation of your souls and bodies. And is this that harsh austere Master?

28. Indeed, if God were such a person as some men have given him out for; if he should scatter abroad his riches as snares, on purpose to fetter and entangle men with them; if he should bestow upon any this *mammon of unrighteousness*, with an intent and resolution that it should become unto them the *mammon of unrighteousness* indeed; that it should make them indisposed and incapable of attaining unto the true riches; there might be some plea for them to fasten so injurious an accusation upon God. But can the Judge of all the earth deal so with his servants? Can he, which is goodness and mercy itself, he who rejoices to style himself *the preserver of men*, can he be so cruelly bountiful to his creatures, as by heaping upon them the vanishing, unsatisfying blessings of this life, thereby to fat and cherish them against the day of slaughter and destruction? God forbid!

29. I confess, notwithstanding, that such persons there may be, upon whom God may in his wrath shower down blessings, and riches in his fierce displeasure: but they are only such, as by living in a continual habitual practice of undervaluing and contemning the daily offers of grace and favour, have already condemned themselves, and sealed themselves unto the day of destruction: and such an one was Pharaoh, concerning whom God himself testifies, saying, *for this reason I have raised thee up, that I might shew my power in thee; and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth*[c]; that is, since by thy continual rebellions thou hast judged thyself unworthy of life, for this reason I have raised thee up, I have kept

[c] Exod. ix. 16.

thee alive, and preserved thee, that none of my former plagues should sweep thee away, that at last, by an utter destruction of thee, together with the whole strength and flower of thy kingdom, I may be glorified throughout the whole world. But I will leave discoursing, and come nearer unto you, in the serious application of Christ's counsel here.

30. It is the property of *riches* (saith the Wise Man) *to gather many friends*[d]; those who are above others in wealth and power shall presently be furnished with friends more than they can well know what to do withal; but such friends are not concerned at all in our Saviour's advice in my text; the friends here intended are such, who are not here to restore again unto you in the same coin that they received. Give not to the rich, (saith our Saviour,) for fear they repay you. Of all things in the world, take heed of being paid back again in this life; beware how you carry your reward along with you to your grave; but leave it to be paid in exchange in another country, where, for using five talents well, you shall have ten cities given you; where, for the bounty of a cup of cold water, you shall receive a prophet's reward. Such a friend was offered once to the rich man in the gospel; God sent him one to his doors, even to crave his friendship; but the rich man was so busied with the care of his wardrobe and his table, that he was not at leisure to hearken to so gainless an offer: notwithstanding, the time came afterwards, when he miserably, to his cost, perceived, what a blessed opportunity he had most negligently omitted, and even in hell attempted to purchase his favour, and to obtain from his hand a poor alms, (God knows,) but one drop of water; but all too late; the time of making friends was past, and a great unfordable

[d] Prov. xix. 4.

gulf had divided them from all possible society and communion for ever.

31. Now consider, I beseech you, that it had been a very easy matter for God so to have provided for all his creatures, that each particular should have had enough of his own, without being beholden to another for supply; but then two heavenly and Divine virtues had been quite lost: for where had been the poor man's patience, and the rich man's charity? The poor man therefore wants, that you may have occasion to exercise your liberality; and that by losing and diminishing your wealth upon him, ye may become more full of riches hereafter. So that it is God's great bounty to you, not only to give you plenty and abundance, but also to suffer others to languish in penury and want. It may be, God hath suffered himself so long to be robbed of his own possessions, his tithes, that you might have the glory and comfort of restoring them. It may be, God has suffered the ancient, superstitious, histrionical adorning of his temples to be converted into the late slovenly profaneness, (commonly called *worshipping in spirit*, but intended to be worship without cost,) that you may find a happy occasion to restore those sacred places, dedicated to his honour, to that majesty and reverence, as may become houses wherein God delights that his name should dwell.

32. Now, if it be not in my power to persuade you neither to make God nor man your debtors by your riches; yet I beseech you, make neither of them your enemies by them. Do not make your riches instruments of war to fight against God himself: for example, as maintaining an unjust cause by power, a cause which God abhors; do not so requite God for his extraordinary liberality to you, as to make his riches instruments for the Devil to wreak his malice upon those whom God

loveth. If I had not a care not to injure your patience too far, what might not be said upon this subject? But I perceive it is fit for me to hasten to your release.

33. But before I quit myself, and ease you of further prosecution of this point, I shall desire you all to suffer one word of exhortation; and if there be any here, whom it may more nearly concern, I beseech them, even by *the bowels of Jesus Christ*, that they will suffer too a word of most necessary reproof. And though what I shall say doth not naturally flow from the words in hand, yet they bear a reasonable resemblance and proportion with them: so pertinent, I am sure, they are to the auditory to whom I speak, that I would choose rather quite to lose my text, than here to leave them unsaid.

34. It is about making friends too; indeed, not with *the mammon of unrighteousness;* no, that is a trifle to it; it is about making friends with not revenging of injuries, with patient bearing and willing forgiving of offences: a duty so seriously, so incessantly, sometimes in plain words, sometimes in parables, all manner of ways, upon all occasions, urged by our Saviour, that we cannot so much as pray, but we must be forced to acknowledge obedience to this law; *Forgive us—as we forgive:* yea, so boundlessly, and without all restrictions or reservations, is it enjoined, that when as Peter thought it fair to have it limited to a certain number, and proposed seven, as, in his opinion, reasonable and convenient; No, saith our Saviour, forgive not until seven times, but until four hundred fourscore and ten times. And if he could have imagined that it were possible for a man to have exceeded even this number also in injuries, without question he would not have left there neither.

35. But how is this doctrine received in the world? What counsel would men, and those none of the worst sort, give thee in such a case? How would the soberest, discreetest, well-bred Christian advise thee? Why thus: If thy brother or thy neighbour have offered thee an injury or an affront, forgive him? By no means: thou art utterly undone, and lost in thy reputation with the world, if thou dost forgive him. What is to be done then? Why, let not thy heart take rest, let all other business and employment be laid aside, till thou hast his blood. How! a man's blood for an injurious, passionate speech, for a disdainful look? Nay, thát is not all, that thou mayest gain among men the reputation of a discreet, well-tempered murderer, be sure thou killest him not in passion, when thy blood is hot and boiling with the provocation; but proceed with as great temper and settledness of reason, with as much discretion and preparedness, as thou wouldest to the communion: after some several days' respite—that it may appear it is thy reason guides thee, and not thy passion—invite him mildly and courteously into some retired place, and there let it be determined, whether his blood or thine shall satisfy the injury.

36. Oh thou holy Christian religion! whence is it that thy children have sucked this inhuman, poisonous blood, these raging, fiery spirits? For if we shall inquire of the heathen, they will say, They have not learned this from us; or of the Mahometans, they will answer, We are not guilty of it. Blessed God! that it should become a most sure, settled course for a man to run into danger and disgrace with the world, if he shall dare to perform a commandment of Christ, which is as necessary for him to do, if he have any hopes of attaining heaven, as meat and drink is for the maintaining of life! that ever it should enter into Christian hearts to

walk so curiously and exactly contrary unto the ways of God! That whereas he sees himself every day and hour almost contemned and despised by thee, who art his servant, his creature, upon whom he might, without all possible imputation of unrighteousness, pour down all the vials of his wrath and indignation, yet he notwithstanding is patient and longsuffering towards thee, hoping that his longsuffering may lead thee to repentance, and beseeching thee daily by his ministers to be reconciled unto him; and yet thou, on the other side, for a distempered, passionate speech, or less, should take upon thee to send thy neighbour's soul, or thine own, or likely both, clogged and oppressed with all your sins unrepented of, (for how can repentance possibly consist with such a resolution?) before the tribunal seat of God, to expect your final sentence; utterly depriving thyself of all the blessed means which God has contrived for thy salvation, and putting thyself in such an estate, that it shall not be in God's power almost to do thee any good. Pardon, I beseech you, my earnestness, almost intemperateness, seeing it hath proceeded from so just, so warrantable a ground; and since it is in your power to give rules of honour and reputation to the whole kingdom, do not you teach others to be ashamed of this inseparable badge of your religion, charity and forgiving of offences; give men leave to be Christians without danger or dishonour; or, if religion will not work with you, yet let the laws of that state wherein you live, the earnest desires and care of your righteous prince, prevail with you. But I have done, and proceed to my last part, which is the convenience and gain which shall accrue unto us by friends obliged with this *mammon of unrighteousness*, namely, *by them to be received into everlasting habitations.*

37. I must here again propose another question,

but when I have done that, I must be forced to leave it without an answer, unless you will be content to take a conjecture, a probability, for an answer: it is, how, or after what manner, those, to whom we have done good here, shall hereafter receive us *into everlasting habitations?* whether this is performed only by their prayers and intercession with God in the behalf of their benefactors; or whether they are used as instruments and conductors, as it were, as our Saviour may probably seem to intimate in the parable, where the Lord speaks to his servants, *that they should take away the one talent from him which had no more, and bestow it on him which had ten talents?* So uncertain it is, whether this task shall be performed by them one of these ways, or by some other unknown course, that St. Augustine ingenuously confesses, he knows not what to make of it: yet cardinal Bellarmine says, he can easily assoil it, and can in these words find out purgatory, and satisfaction for sin after death, and a great deal more than I can understand. But truly, if he be able to spy purgatory in this text, especially such an one as he fancies to himself in his books of that argument, he has made use of better glasses than ever Galileo found out. And I would to God those of his party would consider, how much the weakness of their cause is argued even from hence, that they are forced to ground most of the points controverted between us, upon such difficult places as these, of so ambiguous and uncertain meanings, and therefore equally obnoxious to any man's interpretation. There may yet be found out a convenient sense of this place, especially if we will allow an Hebraism in these words, which is frequent enough in the evangelical writings, of putting the third person plural to express a passive sense; and then the meaning will be, *That when &c., they may receive you,*

i. e. that ye may be received *into everlasting habitations:* parallel to a like phrase in Luke xii. 12, *Thou fool, this night shall they take away thy soul from thee*; i. e. thy soul shall be taken from thee. And if this sense be true, as it is very likely, many of our Romish adversaries have spent much pains about this text to no purpose.

38. But to leave quarrelling. It is no very considerable matter, whether we have lit upon the true sense of these words, or no; or whether those to whom we have done good have a share in purchasing for us an admission into these everlasting habitations; as long as we may infallibly hence conclude, that though it should fall out that Abraham should forget us, and Israel become ignorant of us; yet certainly God (who alone is instead of ten thousand such friends) he will keep a register of all our good actions, and will take particular care of us, to give us a just proportion of reward and harvest of glory, according to our sparingness or liberality in sowing.

39. *Obj.* But would Almighty God have us such mercenary servants, so careful and projecting for our own advantage, that we should not obey him without a compact and bargain? Is not he worthy our serving, unless we first make our condition with him, to be sure to gain and thrive by him? Is this a consideration worthy and befitting the ingenuity and nobleness of a Christian mind, *to have an eye unto the recompense of reward?* Is Christ also become a schoolmaster unto us, as well as the law was to the Jews, that we should have need of thunder, and blackness of smoke, and voices to affright us, or promises to win and allure us? Nay, have not your ears oftentimes heard, from such places as this, an obedience of this nature disgraced and branded for a servile, slavish obedience; an

obedience ordinarily made the mark and badge even of a formal hypocrite, the worst kind of reprobates?

40. *Sol.* I confess I could shew you a more excellent way than this, if men were ordinarily fitted and qualified for the receiving of it; and that is St. Paul's more excellent way of charity; the keeping of God's commandments merely out of the love of his goodness, and consideration of his infinite, inconceivable holiness; *and he that can receive this, let him receive it;* and thrice happy and blessed shall he be of the Lord: but in the meantime, let him not be forward to judge his fellow-servants, if they acknowledge themselves so far guilty of weakness and imperfections, that they have need to receive strength and encouragement in this their painful and laborious race, by looking forward unto the glorious prize of their high calling in Jesus Christ.

41. Surely God is wise enough to contrive the surest course, and to set down the best and likeliest means for persuading us to his service, and the obedience of his commandments: he is able to inquire and search into the most retired corners of our wicked, deceitful hearts, and thereby knowing our temper and disposition, he is able best to prescribe us a method and diet suitable to our constitutions. Therefore if he, out of his infinite wisdom, and the consideration of what encouragements we stand in need of, hath thought it fit to annex to every precept, almost, a promise of happiness, or a threatening of unavoidable danger to the transgressors; what art thou, O man, that thou darest take upon thee to calumniate his proceedings, and to prescribe better directions than he has thought fit?

42. I beseech you therefore (my beloved brethren) by all means make use of any advantages, which may

serve to render you more earnest, more eager, and resolute in your obedience to those holy and perfect commandments which he hath enjoined you: if you cannot find yourselves arrived as yet to that height of perfection, as that love and charity cannot wrest from you sufficient carefulness to obey him; let fear have its operation with you; fear and horror of that terrible issue, which shall attend the wilful and habitual transgressors of his laws: and you need not suspect this course as unwarrantable, for you shall have St. Paul for your example, even that Paul, for whose miraculous conversion Christ was pleased himself in person to descend from his throne of majesty; that Paul, who laboured in the gospel more than all the rest of the apostles; that Paul, whose joy and heart's comfort it was to be afflicted for the name of Christ; lastly, that Paul, who for a time was ravished from the earth to the third heaven, after a most inexpressible manner, and there heard things that cannot be uttered: this Paul, I say, shall be your example; who after all these things found it yet a convenient motive, and received great encouragement and eagerness to proceed in his most blessed conversation, even from this fear, *lest whilst he preached to others, himself should become a castaway.*

43. And when fear has done its part, let hope come in; hope of that happy communion, which you shall once again have with those friends, which may be purchased in this life at so easy a rate; hope of that eternal weight and burden of joy and glory, which is reserved in heaven for you, if you hold fast *the rejoicing of the hope stedfast unto the end*[e]. Let a comfortable meditation of these things encourage and hearten you to proceed from one degree of holiness to

[e] Heb. iii. 6.

another, till *we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, to a perfect man, to the measure of the fulness of the stature of Christ:* and for an example in this, take that whole *cloud of witnesses* mustered together in Heb. xi.; or, if they will not serve the turn, take an example above all examples, an example beyond all imaginable exceptions, even our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ himself, concerning whom the author of the same Epistle (it was St. Paul sure) saith, chap. xii. that *for the joy that was set before him,* he *despised the shame, and endured the cross,* &c.

44. God knows we have need of all manner of encouragements, and all little enough for us, so sluggish and immovable, so perverse and obstinate are we: therefore, for God's sake, upon any terms, continue in the service of Christ, make use of all manner of advantages; and though ye find hope or fear predominant in you, (these servile affections, as they are commonly called,) yet for all that faint not, despair not, but rather give thanks to Almighty God; and God, who sees such good effect of his promises and threatenings in you, (of which all the scripture is full from one end to the other,) will in his good time fill your hearts full of his love, even that *perfect love which casteth out fear,* and of that perfect love which shall have no need of hope; he will perfect that his good work in you unto the end.

45. To conclude all, whether ye shall perform this commandment of Christ, or whether ye shall not perform it, it cannot be avoided, everlasting habitations shall be your reward: only the difference is, whether ye will have them of your enemies' providing; whether ye will be beholden to the Devil and his angels, your ancient, mortal enemies, to prepare everlasting dwell-

ings for you, (*and who can dwell in everlasting fire?* (saith the prophet,) *who can dwell in continual burnings?*) or, whether ye will expect them from the assistance of those just persons whom you have by your good works eternally obliged to you; even those blessed and glorious habitations, which God the Father Almighty hath from the beginning of the world provided and furnished for you; which God the Son, by his meritorious death and passion, hath purchased for you; and for the admission whereunto God the Holy Ghost hath sanctified and adorned you, that in thankfulness and gratitude you yourselves may become everlasting habitations, pure and undefiled temples for him to dwell in for ever and ever. Now unto these glorious and everlasting habitations God of his infinite mercy bring us, even for Jesus Christ his sake: to whom, with the Father, &c.

SERMON VII.

LUKE xix. 8.

—And if I have defrauded any man by forged cavillation, I restore unto him fourfold.

THE Son of man (saith our Saviour of himself in the end of this story) *is come to seek and save that which was lost*, verse 10; and how careful and solicitous he was in the discharge of this employment and business about which his Father sent him, this story of Zacchæus (out of which my text is taken) will evidently and livelily discover. For here we have a man, that among ten thousand, one would think, were the most unlikely to become a disciple of Christ's, so indisposed he was for such a change, so unqualified in all respects: for first, he was rich, as the third verse tells us; and if that were all his fault, yet in our Saviour's judgment, which was never uncharitable, being so clogged and burdened with these *impedimenta*, (as even the heathens could call riches,) it would be as hard for him to press through, and enter in at the strait gate, without uneasing and freeing himself from them, as for a camel to go through the eye of a needle.

2. But secondly, these his riches, as it would seem, were scarce well and honestly gotten: for his trade and course of life was a dangerous trade, obnoxious to great, almost irresistible temptations: a great measure of grace would be requisite to preserve a man incorrupt and undefiled in that course: and so ill a name he had

gotten himself, that all that afterwards saw Christ's familiarity with him were much offended and scandalized at it; for we read in the seventh verse, that *when they all saw it, they murmured, saying, that he was gone in to lodge with a sinful man;* with one famous and notorious for a great oppressor.

3. Yet notwithstanding all this, such was the unspeakable mercy and goodness of Christ, that even of this stone, so scorned and rejected of all the people, *he raised a son unto Abraham,* as we find in the ninth verse. And to bring this to pass, he took occasion even from a vain curiosity of this Zacchæus, an humour of his, it may be such a one as afterwards possessed Herod, (though God knows he had not the same success,) namely, to see some strange work performed by Christ, of whom he had heard so much talk. This opportunity, I say, our Saviour took to perform an admirable miracle, even upon the man himself; and that he brought about by as unlikely a course, only with inviting himself to his house; by which unexpected affability and courtesy of our Saviour, this so notorious and famous publican and sinner was so surprised with joy and comfort, that presently he gives over all thought and consideration of his trade, as a thing of no moment; and being to receive Christ into his house, and knowing how ill agreeing companions Christ and mammon would prove in the same lodging, he resolves to sweep it and make it clean for the entertaining of him; he empties it of that dross and dung wherewith before it was defiled; half of his estate goes away at a clap upon the poor, and the remainder, in all likelihood, is in great danger to be consumed by that noble and generous offer which he makes in the words of my text: *Whomsoever I have defrauded by forged cavillation, I restore* &c.

4. In which words I shall observe unto you these two general parts: first, a discovery, and, it may be, confession of his beloved, bosom sin, the sin of his trade, in these words; *If I have defrauded any man*, or *whomsoever I have defrauded*: secondly, satisfaction tendered in the words following; *I restore unto him fourfold.* In the former general we may take notice of two particulars: 1. Zacchæus his willingness and readiness of his own accord to discover and confess his sin, when he said, *Whomsoever I have defrauded.* And 2dly, the nature and heinousness of the crime discovered, which is called a *defrauding by forged cavillation*, or, as some translations read, *with false accusation.* In the second general likewise (which is the satisfaction tendered by Zacchæus) there offer themselves two particulars more; namely, 1, so much of the satisfaction as was necessary to be performed, by virtue of an indispensable precept, and that is restitution, in these words, *I restore unto him*; 2. that which was voluntary and extraordinary, namely, the measure and excess of this restitution, which he professeth should be *fourfold.* Of these two parts therefore, with their several particulars, in the same order as they have been proposed, briefly, and with all the plainness and perspicuity I can imagine. And, 1, of the former general, and therein of the first particular, namely, Zacchæus his readiness to confess his sin, in these words; *If I* &c.

5. I said even now only, it may be this was a confession of his crime; but now I will be more resolute, and tell you peremptorily, this was a confession; for without all question, Zacchæus, as the case stood now with him, was in no humour of justifying himself, he had no mind to boast his integrity in his office; or, if he had, he might be sure that common fame (if that

were all, yet that alone) might be a sufficient argument, at least too great a presumption against him, to confute him. But to put it out of question, our Saviour himself, by applying the tenth verse of this chapter to him, acknowledgeth him for a sinful, undone man; one that had so far lost himself in the wandering mazes of this wicked world, that unless Christ himself had taken the pains to search and inquire after him, and having found him, by the power and might of his grace to rescue and recover him from the error of his ways, by restoring him his eyes, whereby he might take notice towards what a dangerous precipice he was hastening, there had been no possibility but at last he must have needs fallen headlong into the gulf of destruction.

6. Now it being, I suppose, evident, that Zacchæus was guilty, and that in a high degree, and openly and scandalously guilty of the crime here discovered; there is no doubt to be made, but that he, who was so willing to unlock and disperse his ill-gotten treasures, would not begin to divert his covetousness upon his sins; he would not hoard them up, but would place his glory even in his shame; and whereas he had been the servant and slave of sin, he would wear his shackles and fetters as signs of the glorious victory which through Christ he had won, and emblems of that blessed change which he found in himself, being rescued from the basest slavery that possibly can be imagined, into the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

7. But it may be you will say, Suppose Zacchæus did freely and voluntarily confess his sin to Christ, who had authority to forgive him his sins, though he had never discovered them; what collection shall be made from hence? Zacchæus might be as bold as he

would with himself; but as for us, his example shall be no rule to us: we thank God, this is popery in these days, and since we have freed ourselves from this burden, we will not be brought into bondage to any man; we will confess our sins, I warrant you, only to God, who is only able to forgive us them; as for the minister, it may be, we will sometimes be beholden to him to speak some comfortable words now and then to us, when we are troubled in conscience; and we have not been taught to go any further.

8. I confess I find no great inclination in myself, especially being in the pulpit, to undertake a controversy, even where it may seem to offer itself, much less to press and strain a text for it, for I desire to have no adversaries in my preaching, but only the Devil and sin. Only having now mentioned confession, and considering how much the doctrine of our holy mother the church hath been traduced, not only by the malice and detraction of our professed enemies of the church of Rome, but also by the suspicious ignorance and partiality of her own children; who out of a liking of the zeal, or rather fury, of some former protestant writers, have laid this for a ground of stating controversies of our religion: that that is to be acknowledged for the doctrine of these reformed churches, which is most opposite and contradicting to the church of Rome: so that, as the case goes now, controversies of religion are turned into private quarrels, and it is not so much the truth that is sought after, as the salving and curing the reputation of particular men.

9. These things therefore considered, truly for my part, I dare not take upon me so much to gratify the papists, as to think myself obliged to maintain many incommodious speeches of some of our divines in this point. *Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridæ—*

They will never be unfurnished of matter to write books to the world's end, if this shall be the method of stating controversies. Oh what an impregnable cause should we have against the church of Rome, if we ourselves did not help to weaken and betray it, by mixing therewith the interests and conceits of particular men!

10. Give me therefore leave, I pray you, to give you the state of the question, and the doctrine of our church, in the words of one, who both now is, and for ever will worthily be accounted the glory of this kingdom. "Be it known," saith he[g], "to our adversaries of Rome," (I add also, to our adversaries even of Great Britain, who sell their private fancies for the doctrine of our church,) "that no kind of confession, either public or private, is disallowed by our church, that is any way requisite for the due execution of that ancient power of the keys which Christ bestowed upon his church. The thing which we reject is that new picklock of sacramental confession, obtruded upon men's consciences, as a matter necessary to salvation, by the canons of the late conventicle of Trent, in the fourteenth session."

11. And this truth being so evident in scripture, and in the writings of the ancient, best times of the primitive church, the safest interpreters of scripture, I make no question but there will not be found one person amongst you, who, when he shall be in a calm, impartial disposition, will offer to deny it. For, I beseech you, give yourselves leave impartially to examine your own thoughts: can any man be so unreasonable as once to imagine with himself, that when our Saviour after his resurrection, having received (as himself saith) *all power in heaven and earth, having led captivity captive, came then to bestow gifts upon men*; when he,

[g] Bishop Usher's Answer to the Jesuit, cap. of Confession, p. 84.

I say, in so solemn a manner (having first breathed upon his disciples, thereby conveying and insinuating the Holy Ghost into their hearts) renewed unto them, or rather confirmed and sealed unto them, that glorious commission, which before he had given to Peter, sustaining, as it were, the person of the whole church, whereby he delegated to them an authority of binding and loosing sins upon earth, with a promise, that the proceedings in the court of heaven should be directed and regulated by theirs on earth; can any man, I say, think so unworthily of our Saviour, as to esteem these words of his for no better than compliment? for nothing but court holy water?

12. Yet so impudent have our adversaries of Rome been in their dealings with us, that they have dared to lay to our charge, as if we had so mean a conceit of our Saviour's gift of the keys; taking advantage indeed from the unwary expressions of some particular divines, who, out of too forward a zeal against the church of Rome, have bended the staff too much the contrary way; and instead of taking away that intolerable burden of a sacramental, necessary, universal confession, have seemed to void and frustrate all use and exercise of the keys.

13. Now, that I may apply something of that which hath now been spoken to your hearts and consciences, matters standing as you see they do; since Christ, for your benefit and comfort, hath given such authority to his ministers, upon your unfeigned repentance and contrition, to absolve and release you from your sins; why should I doubt, or be unwilling to exhort and persuade you to make your advantage of this gracious promise of our Saviour's? Why should I envy you the participation of so heavenly a blessing? Truly, if I should deal thus with you, I should prove myself a malicious, unchristian-like, malignant preacher; I should

wickedly and unjustly, against my own conscience, seek to defraud you of those glorious blessings which our Saviour hath intended for you.

14. Therefore, in obedience to his gracious will, and as I am warranted, and even enjoined, by my holy mother the church of England expressly, in the Book of Common Prayer, in the rubric of visiting the sick, (which doctrine this church hath likewise embraced so far,) I beseech you, that by your practice and use, you will not suffer that commission, which Christ hath given to his ministers, to be a vain form of words, without any sense under them; to be an antiquated, expired commission, of no use nor validity in these days; but whensoever you find yourselves charged and oppressed, especially with such crimes as they call *peccata vastantia conscientiam*, such as do lay waste and depopulate the conscience, that you would have recourse to your spiritual physician, and freely disclose the nature and malignancy of your disease, that he may be able, as the cause shall require, to proportion a remedy, either to search it with corrosives, or comfort and temper it with oil. And come not to him, only with such a mind as you would go to a learned man experienced in the scriptures, as one that can speak comfortable, quieting words to you, but as to one that hath authority delegated to him from God himself to absolve and acquit you of your sins. If you shall do this, assure your souls, that the understanding of man is not able to conceive that transport and excess of joy and comfort, which shall accrue to that man's heart, that is persuaded that he hath been made partaker of this blessing, orderly and legally, according as our Saviour Christ hath prescribed.

15. You see I have dealt honestly and freely with you; it may be, more freely than I shall be thanked for: but I should have sinned against my own soul, if

I had done otherwise; I should have conspired with our adversaries of Rome against our own church, in affording them such an advantage to blaspheme our most holy and undefiled religion. It becomes you now, though you will not be persuaded to like of the practice of what, out of an honest heart, I have exhorted you to; yet for your own sakes, not to make any uncharitable construction of what hath been spoken. And here I will acquit you of this unwelcome subject, and from Zacchæus his confession of his sin, I proceed to my second particular, namely, the nature and heinousness of the crime confessed, which is here called *a defrauding another by forged cavillation.*

16. The crime here confessed, is called in Greek *sycophancy;* for the words are, εἴ τινός τι ἐσυκοφάντησα. For the understanding of which word in this place we shall not need so much to be beholden to the classical Greek authors as to the Septuagint, who are the best interpreters of the idiom of the Greek language in the evangelical writings. Two reasons of the word συκοφάντης are given, the one by *Isther in Atticis*, the other by *Philomnestus de Sminthiis Rhodiis*, both recorded by Athenæus in that treasury of ancient learning, his *Deipnosophists*, in the third book; which, because they are of no great use for the interpretation of St. Luke, I willingly omit.

17. Now there are four several words in the Hebrew which the seventy interpreters have rendered in the Old Testament by the word συκοφάντης, and the verbal thereof συκοφαντέω: one whereof signifies *to abalienate*, or *wrest any thing from another by fraud and sophistry*, opposed to another word in the same language, which imports *to rob by plain open force and violence;* Job xxv. 9, Ps. cxix. 121, Prov. xxviii. 3, Eccles. iv. 1; as likewise in Ps. lxxi. 4, Prov. xiv. 33:

a second word signifies *to deal captiously and fallaciously with another*, Leviticus xxix. 11: a third implies *a punishment* or *mulct*, which (as the Latin word *mulcta* will bear it) is either inflicted on the body or the purse: and the last signifies, *to circumvent*, or rather indeed *to roll himself upon another*, Gen. xliii. 18.

18. Out of all which expressions in the Hebrew, compounded together, we may extract a full sense of the crime here confessed by Zacchæus, and rendered in the Greek original by συκοφαντέω; especially if we have respect to Zacchæus his office and trade of life, which was to be a master of the publicans in that part of the country where he lived, i. e. one who had chief authority in receiving the rents and customs due from thence to the empire. Zacchæus his crime therefore, (as may likewise be collected from that counsel which St. John the Baptist gave to the publicans who came to his baptism; which was, that they should *exact no more than was their due*,) his crime, I say, was to wring and extort from his poor countrymen, either by fraud and false suggestions, or by violence, more than was due from them to the empire; to enrich his private coffers by the spoils of the miserable inhabitants; to roll himself upon them, and overwhelm them, by exactions for his private benefit; for that end, pretending the rights and necessities of state, and thereto tentering and straining to the uttermost that power and authority wherewith he was invested from Rome.

19. These kind of officers, though they were of good reputation with the Romans, as we may collect out of several orations of Cicero, for by their place they had the privilege to be reckoned among the *equites Romani*; yet in the countries wherein they

lived, especially in Jewry, a tenacious, covetous nation, they were the most odious persons upon the earth; insomuch as the very name of a publican was grown into a proverb, expressing a person that deserved at all men's hands infamy and hatred. This therefore was Zacchæus his crime; this is that which he calls by so odious a name as *sycophancy*. But to leave this general discourse of the name, (for in your behalfs I am weary of an argument so useless to you,) I will now try what advantage every one of us may make from Zacchæus his behaviour in this place.

20. You see here Zacchæus (though he was a man exalted above the ordinary rank of men, yet he) deals something plainly and homely with himself, when he can afford himself no better a name than *sycophant;* a title of so odious and hateful a signification, that the Devil himself has not got so disgraceful a name as that: for he is called but Satan, or Διάβολος, that is, as the Holy Ghost himself interprets it, *an accuser of the brethren*. And though even that be a sufficient crime, yet it is counted a more plausible, generous sin, out of hatred and rancour and ill nature, by false accusations, to endeavour the subversion of one's enemy, than by base dilating and informing, only for the hope of a little gain to himself, to procure the overthrow of his neighbour's estate and reputation; which is the condition of a sycophant.

21. From hence then we may be taught, how differently we ought to behave ourselves in the discovery of our own and other men's sins. If our brother hath offended, we are to soften and qualify his sin, to think charitably of him notwithstanding, and to frame to ourselves excuses, that the matter may not be so bad as is generally supposed; as likewise hope that hereafter, by a reformed life, he may redeem

and cancel his forepast transgressions: and so we see even John Baptist himself (though a man of no plausible, court-like behaviour, yet) giving his advice to these publicans, he would only call that an exacting more than was due, which Zacchæus here in himself most boisterously terms *sycophancy*: whereas towards ourselves, we must be tetrical and almost uncharitable; we must not *break our own heads with precious balm*, as the Psalmist speaketh; that is, by softened, oily excuses, aggravate and assist our own disease.

22. Secondly, consider that Zacchæus his sin, which he deals so roughly and discourteously withal here, was his beloved bosom sin; the sin of his trade and course of life; a sin, in whose company and society he had always been brought up; his *peccatum* εὐπερίστατον, (as St. Paul most elegantly calls it,) *the sin that doth so easily beset him*[b]; or rather, that doth so well and fitly encompass him, that doth so exactly suit with him. For ordinarily, every man hath some one particular sin, that fits his humour better, and sits closer to him, like a well made garment, than any other. And I think this expression renders St. Paul's *peccatum* εὐπερίστατον reasonably well. Other sins are either too strait for him, and do continually vex and gird him, so that he can take but little comfort in them: (and such are sins against a man's constitution and temper; as for example, one act of adultery, though for the time pleasant, would yet afterwards more torment and afflict a covetous man's conscience, than the devouring, it may be, of a whole country:) or else they hang loose about him, so that though they be easy and delightful sometimes, yet to wear them continually would prove tedious and irksome. But his dearly respected sin is good company at all times for

[b] Heb. xii. 1.

him; and so he may have leave to enjoy but that, he cares not much what becomes of all the rest.

23. As for instance, that I may press a little nearer to your consciences, put the case there were any one in this company, a covetous, oppressing person, such a one as Zacchæus; I will warrant he would have been content that I should rather have taken any text in the Bible than this; he would have been pleased, nay, even rejoiced, to hear me inveigh bitterly against any other sin besides; yea, he would willingly in his own thoughts have joined with me against any man living; for thereby he would be apt to justify himself in his own eyes, and to say in his thoughts, The preacher indeed is very earnest in God's behalf against somebody, but I thank God I am righteous all this while, I am not at all concerned in it: nay, it may be he would have been content to have taken my part even against himself too, in any other sin besides this.

24. But now that I begin to set myself against his darling, only favourite sin, the delight of his soul, and as it were the breath of his nostrils, he will by no means endure it. What! (thinks he) is there not room enough in all the Old and New Testament for this preacher to expatiate in? Are there not a thousand precepts, and almost as many stories in the Bible, and must he needs single out this? Am I the only person that he must aim at? Or if he would needs be meddling with me, could he not spare me, at least, in this one small sin? Let him do his worst to the rest of my sins; let him draw blood from me in any other place besides this; but this is a very sucking of my heart's blood, is a rending to my bowels. The Lord surely will be merciful to me in this sin only, (*Lo, is it not a little one?*) *and my soul shall live* in

pleasure and happiness. And such thoughts as these would the lascivious person have entertained, if I had light upon his text; and so the rest.

25. But as for our new convert Zacchæus, (and I beseech you let him behere in your example,) he deals not so mercifully, no not with his dearly loved sin of oppression: no, he is so far from that, that as if in all other respects he had been the most innocent, holy man alive, he cannot remember that his conscience is troubled with any sin besides: all his aim and spite is directed against this only sin, which having rooted out of his heart, he supposes he shall then be worthy to entertain his new-invited, blessed guest.

26. And to say the truth, if a heart once enlightened by grace finds so much courage, as to be able to prevail against his *peccatum* ἐνπερίστατον, it will be an easy, secure skirmish and resistance that all the rest will afford him. Hereupon saith our Saviour to the Pharisees, who were covetous, *If you give your riches to the poor, all things shall become pure unto you:* as if he should say, This sin of covetousness is the main chain whereby the Devil holds you captive at his pleasure; strain and force yourselves only to break this chain, and then you shall be free indeed in perfect liberty; all your other sins will be only to you as the green withes were to Samson, even as *threads of tow that have smelled the fire.*

27. Pertinent to this may that saying of our Saviour's be in the thirteenth of St. John's Gospel; where giving his disciples a blessed example of humility, in vouchsafing to wash their feet, when it came to St. Peter's turn he would by no means endure it. But after our Saviour had somewhat sharply rebuked him; Well, says he, since thou wilt descend so far as to wash me, *Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my*

head[c]: leave not the work imperfect; since thou wilt begin to cleanse and sanctify me, perfect this thy good work unto the end. Our Saviour replies[d], *He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit.* As if he should say, If thou wilt take so much care, as to cleanse and purify such parts, as by continual exercise and travail are most subject to be defiled, it will be an easy matter to preserve thyself pure through all the rest. Thus Zacchæus having searched out the head and fountain, whence all those noisome lusts which appeared in his life did flow, he supposes he shall sufficiently purify the streams thence issuing, if he can once cleanse the spring. Which he proceeds to perform, in my second general; which is the satisfaction by him tendered in lieu of his former oppressions, in these words, *I restore unto him fourfold.* In the handling of which, I will, according to my promise, begin with the first particular thereof, namely, so much of this satisfaction as is necessary to be performed by virtue of an indispensable precept, which is of restitution, in these words, *I restore unto him.*

28. There is a doctrine blown about and dispersed by a sort of preachers in the reformed churches, and greedily embraced by their followers and proselytes, because they are persuaded that themselves are the most interested in it; which teacheth, that no man has any right or property in the goods and riches which he possesses, unless he be one of God's elect, faithful servants. So that those who are resolved to account themselves in this number, and to exclude from this society all others who suit not with their humours; such, I say, are apt too forwardly to think all others no better than usurpers of their patrimony and inheritance. The dangerous effects and consequences of which doctrine

[c] John xiii. 9. [d] Verse 10.

(especially where power has not been wanting to make the best use and advantage of it) was wofully discovered in those tumults which not very long since were raised in Germany, especially in Westphalia, about the city of Munster.

29. This doctrine I suppose was borrowed especially from the Jesuits, who upon the same grounds have entitled their catholic king to almost all the western parts of the world; whereby many millions of poor souls have been most inhumanly and barbarously massacred, to make way for the supposed right owners, the Spaniards, as we find testified with horror and detestation even by many ingenuous honest-hearted writers of their own nation.

30. Neither the time nor my text will allow me leisure to stand long upon the confuting of this pernicious doctrine; I will only oppose to it that saying of the Psalmist, *The earth is the Lord's, but he hath given it to the children of men:* no man alive hath any right in the goods of this world, but only by a gift from God; and by his gift all the children of men, without exception, are instated in it; so that no pretence of religion or election can be sufficient for any one to disseize another man, of what condition or quality soever he be, that is once legally possessed of them.

31. Therefore, whosoever he be, that, whether by fraud or violence, or any other title, shall invade or usurp upon the rights of another, he does, as much as in him lies, without any warrant, nullify the gift of God, and takes upon him to oppose and thwart his most wise providence; setting up himself as it were in God's seat, and dethroning him, establishing a new order of providence of his own. And thinkest thou, that doest these things, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God? Canst thou imagine that he will

patiently endure to see his judgments reversed, or his mercies evacuated by thee? that whereas he hath said, *I will bless this man, and enlarge his bounds upon the earth;* thou shouldst take upon thee to say, on the other side, Let God deal as mercifully as he pleaseth to this man, but I know what I am resolved of; I am determined to crush and grind him to powder; I am resolved that his children shall beg at my gates, and not be satisfied; they shall bow unto me, and not be regarded? What a wretched, unworthy opinion must such a one of necessity entertain of God!

32. And I beseech you, do not think that this is only a rhetorical, forced straining of a point. The Holy Ghost will tell you as much in express terms, Prov. xiv. 31, and again, Prov. xvii. 5, *He that oppresseth the poor reproacheth his Maker.* He sets his mark and brand of infamy almost upon all God's glorious attributes; as if God had not power enough to maintain the poor man against his adversary; as if he had not wisely enough dispensed his blessings; as if he would not suffer God to extend his mercies, but upon whom himself shall please; and so of the rest.

33. But I will now, for your sakes, transgress something the limits of my text; and whereas I should only meddle with the unlawfulness of detaining goods gotten by oppression and sycophancy, I will make the subject more general, in this proposition, which I beseech you heedfully to attend to, and hereafter seriously to consider of: this, therefore, I say and testify, "that whosoever he be, whose conscience shall convince him that he hath gained any thing by an unlawful course, if he resolve not to restore it, and die in that resolution, it is impossible he should be saved." For the confirming which proposition, instead of many, almost infinite, unanswerable reasons, I will only make use of two,

each of them drawn from the impossibility in such a man of performing two duties, most necessarily required at every man's hands that professeth Christianity: the one whereof is prayer; the second repentance.

34. Concerning prayer, I will demonstrate, that he can neither seriously give God thanks for bestowing upon him those riches which he calls *blessings;* nor, secondly, desire God's blessing upon those riches. For the first, without question, if such a one shall dare to open his mouth to give God thanks for his riches, it will prove to him a greater sin than the unjust, unlawful gathering of them; as the Psalmist saith, *His very prayers shall be turned into sin;* for thereby he will entitle the just, righteous God unto his abominable sin. Dares such a man, with any confidence, give thanks to Almighty God for suffering him to be his enemy, in oppressing and persecuting, it may be, God's faithful, beloved servants; for suffering him to be an instrument of the Devil's? Therefore, if there be any such that hear me this day, (yet I hope, nay, I am almost confident, there is not,) but and if there be, let me beseech him, that of all things in the world he will take heed of giving thanks; let him rather proceed on blindly in his sin, and put out of his mind all thought and consideration of God; for never any heathen could offer him such an indignity as this, no not Epicurus nor Diagoras himself.

35. In the second place, how can such a one desire God to bless unto him and increase those riches so unjustly gotten? Will he say, Lord, make it appear unto the world, by blessing me in these my ungodly courses, that thou likest well of them, and that thou hast been of conspiracy with me in all mine ungracious projects; so shall the godly quickly be rooted out of the earth, for every one will take advantage to wrong

another: if thou wilt bless me, every one will be ready to tread in my steps? We see a man in such a state cannot seriously pray any kind of prayer, unless he purpose to mock God to his face; so that he has defrauded himself of one necessary means of salvation. But that which follows is of greater importance yet.

36. There is nothing wherein a man (that is resolved not to part with goods unlawfully gathered) can deal with more despiteful petulancy and uncivility with God, than by offering to pretend to an unfeigned repentance. It is much like the behaviour of Charles V. unto God, who caused public prayers and processions to be made unto God for the delivery of the pope in Spain, whom himself at the same time detained prisoner in his own castle St. Angelo, with a resolution, that howsoever those prayers wrought with God to pity his vicar, yet till he had concluded conditions for his own advantage with him, he should never be released. Just such another interlude and fantastical pageant must this man's repentance be.

37. He will say, perhaps—Lord, I confess I cannot justify those ways and courses whereby I procured my wealth; it may be, to make way for my excess and superfluity, many a poor soul (yet richer in thy grace and favour than myself) has been forced almost to starve for penury and want; it may be, there are store of orphans and widows that are importunate upon thee for vengeance against my unchristian profession; and I acknowledge, that for my demerits I am liable to be forced to drink the very dregs of thy fierce wrath and indignation for ever. I will therefore rely and cast myself upon thy mercy and pity, which yet if I cannot purchase without the loss and restitution of my ill-gotten wealth, I will rather

adventure upon thy fury; and though I know it to be a fearful thing, and insupportable misery, to fall into thy hands, as into the hands of an enemy and pursuer; yet upon no manner of conditions will I part with my riches; no, not though I were now upon my death-bed, being out of all hopes of ever enjoying any comfort and pleasure myself from them, and within few hours expecting to be conveyed into my everlasting prison; yet rather than my son or my kinsman, (who even after restitution made of what is unlawfully got, might perhaps have remaining to him sufficient to maintain him plentifully in this world,) yet rather than he shall abate any thing of that vanity and superfluity which my excess of wealth will be able to bear, I will endanger the forfeiture of my inheritance in the land of the living.

38. But it may be, you will say, that it is an impossible thing for any man that pretends to Christianity to have such thoughts in him as these. I confess it is a hard thing for a man to make such a formal, distinct discourse with himself as this was; but consider, whether such a man's thoughts, (which at an exigence like this are confused and tumultuous,) yet if they were reduced into order and method, consider, I say, whether they would not be digested into a sense and meaning equivalent unto that which before I expressed; so that God, who knows the bent and inclination of his heart, (much better than himself,) he will display and discover them distinctly and legibly before his eyes, and will proceed against him, as if he had behaved himself towards him after such an unworthy, more than atheistical fashion.

39. But again, it is possible, I may be replied upon, and have the case put, that a man, who hath unrighteously oppressed or defrauded his neighbour,

has not means enough left to make satisfaction by restoring. And that is no extraordinary example, that goods ill-got should have, by the justice of God, wings given them to fly away, and escape out of the hands of the purchasers: shall such men, because they are not able to restore, be concluded in such a desperate estate as before I have mentioned? No, God forbid! If in such circumstances a man shall be unfeignedly sorry for his misdeeds, and withal resolve, if God shall hereafter bless him with abilities, to make restitution, our merciful God will accept of that good inclination of his heart, as if he had perfectly satisfied and restored to each man his due: for without all question God will never condemn any man because he is not rich.

40. If it shall be again questioned, and the supposition made, that a man (for example, a tradesman) cannot possibly call to remembrance each particular man's name whom he hath wronged, (as indeed it is almost impossible he should,) what advice shall he take in such a case? I answer, that he must in this case consider, that by this sin he hath not only wronged his neighbour, but God also; therefore, since he cannot find out the one, let him repay it to the other. Let him be so charitable, and do that kindness to God, as to bestow it in alms upon his poor servants; or, since God himself is grown so poor and needy, (especially in this kingdom,) that he hath not means enough to repair his own houses, nor scarce to make them habitable, he may do well to rescue God's churches from being habitations of beasts and stables for cattle; or, lastly, which more concerns you, since God is here grown so much out of purse, that he has not means enough to pay his own servants wages equal to the meanest of your household servants, let not them

any longer be the mocking-stocks of those Canaanites, your enemies, that so swarm in your land. Here is a subject fit indeed for your charity: and a miserable case it is, God knows, that they should be the persons who of all conditions of men should stand in greatest need of your mercy and charity.

41. Oh! but will some men say, we have found now at what the preacher aimeth: all this ado about restitution is only to enrich the clergy. If such thoughts and jealousies as these arise in your hearts, (as I know by experience it is no unlikely thing they should,) O then, I beseech you, for the mercies of God, consider in what a miserable state the church must needs be, when the most likely course to keep the ministers of God from starving must be your sins: when those, to whom you have committed your souls in trust, as they that must give God an account for them, shall through want and penury be rendered so heartless and low-spirited, that for fear of your anger, and danger of starving, they shall not dare to interrupt or hinder you, when you run headlong in the paths that lead you to destruction: when, out of faint-heartedness they shall not dare to take notice, no, not of the most scandalous sins of their patrons; but, which is worst, be the most forward, officious parasites to soothe them in their crimes, and cry peace unto them when God and their own consciences tell them that they are utter strangers from it, and neither do nor are ever likely to know the ways of peace: lastly, when these messengers of God shall be the most ready to tell you, that those possessions and tithes which have been wrested out of God's hands are none of God's due; that they are none of the church's patrimony; that their right is nothing but your voluntary alms and charitable benevolence; and that they shall

think themselves sufficiently and liberally dealt withal, if you shall account them worthy to be the companions of the basest and meanest of your servants. I could almost be silent in this cause, did not our enemies in Gath know of it, and if it were not published in the streets of Askalon; insomuch, that you have given cause to the enemies of God to blaspheme our glorious and undefiled religion.

42. I will conclude this doctrine of restitution, most necessary certainly to be prosecuted in these times, only with proposing to your considerations two motives, which in all reason ought to persuade you to the practice of it: the one shall be, that you would do it for your own sakes; the other, for your children's sake. For the former, though I could never be scanted of arguments sufficient to enforce it though I should make it the subject of my sermons to my life's end, yet because I perceive it is time for me to hasten to your release, I will only desire you to remember how much I have told you already that this doctrine concerns you, since it is impossible for any man, while he is guilty of the breach of this duty, to put in practice even the most necessary and indispensable precepts of the Christian religion.

43. But concerning the second motive, which I desire should induce to the practice of restitution, namely, that you should be persuaded to it even for your children's sake, I beseech you, take this seriously into your consideration: that whereas it may be you may think, that by heaping wealth, howsoever purchased, upon your heirs, you shall sufficiently provide for them against all casualties; yet that God also hath his treasures in store to countervail yours, and to provide so, that your heirs shall take but little content, God knows, in all their abundance: for, as it is in Job xx. 8,

God will lay up the iniquity of sinners for their children; i. e. he will not satisfy himself with wreaking vengeance of other men's wrongs upon your heads that have done them, but will take care also that your children shall be no gainers by the bargain: therefore, as you desire the welfare of those, for whose sake especially you dare adventure to hazard your own souls, bequeathe not to them for a legacy a canker and moth, that will assuredly consume and devour all your riches: take pity of those poor souls, who are nothing interested, in their own persons, in those crimes wherewith their wealth was purchased, and leave not unto them a curse from God upon their inheritance. But I see I must be forced even abruptly to break from this argument of restitution: I come therefore, briefly, to my last particular, namely, the excess and extraordinary measure of Zacchæus his restitution, which he professeth shall be fourfold, to be dispatched in one word.

44. However I found it something a hard task to clear my first particular of confession from the danger and neighbourhood of popery, yet I fear that in most men's opinions it will prove more difficult to do as much for this: for here is an action performed by Zacchæus, (namely, fourfold restitution,) without all question good and acceptable to God, and yet not enjoined by virtue of any commandment; and what is that but plain popish supererogation? for the judicial law of restoring fourfold is only in strictness and propriety applicable to plain, direct stealing.

45. *Sol.* I confess, that some particular men, for fear of this consequence, have thought themselves obliged to dissent, not only from St. Paul's distinction of counsels from precepts in the gospel, but also from the general, uniform consent of all antiquity; whereas, if

we shall well consider it, they have feared where no fear was: for our churches never condemned that distinction, as if there were danger from thence of making way for popery; but this is that abomination of more than pharisaical, self-justifying pride in the church of Rome, that upon so weak a foundation they have most inartificially erected their Babel of supererogation, whereby they teach that they can, not only through the whole course of their lives, exactly perform all the commandments of God, without offending in any one mortal sin; by this means challenging at God's hands remission of their sins, and everlasting salvation for themselves; but also, by their voluntary, unrequired obedience unto evangelical counsels, leave God in arrearages unto them, and make an extraordinary stock of merits, which shall be left unto the pope's care and providence to manage, and dispense to any man's use for ready money. This is that doctrine which the church of England, in express words, most worthily professeth a detestation unto, in their fourteenth article, which hath been transcribed into the five and fortieth of this church. And yet for all this, neither of these churches have any quarrel to that distinction of St. Paul, when, speaking of voluntary chastity, he saith[c], *I have received no such commandment from the Lord, yet I give my advice or counsel;* as hath been excellently discovered by the late incomparable bishop of Winchester, in his *Resp. ad Apologiam.*

46. And now, though I have gone through and quite absolved my text, yet I can scarce think my sermon finished, till I have endeavoured to make it beneficial unto you, by applying it to your consciences and practice: but when I should come to that, I confess I find these times wherein we live so indisposed for

[c] 1 Cor. vii. 25.

such an application, that I know not which way to begin with you; for, shall I seriously enjoin you, as by a precept from God, that where you have unjustly oppressed, or cunningly and closely defrauded your neighbour, that you should, as Zacchæus did here, restore unto him fourfold. No, I dare not adventure so far, I have received no such commandment from the Lord; and then I should be guilty of that which was an unjust accusation laid upon Moses and Aaron, *Ye take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi.*

47. Shall I then endeavour to persuade you to conform yourselves to this pattern of Zacchæus, as to a counsel? Alas! the times are such, that well were we, if, as some have turned all counsels into precepts, that the same men would not, at least in their practice, convert all precepts into counsels: if they would not think that the moral, legal precepts were antiquated and dissolved by bringing in the new covenant of grace; or, if not quite abrogated, yet left so arbitrary, that they should become matters of no necessary importance and consequence; duties, which if we shall perform, we shall thereby approve our gratitude and thankfulness unto God our Saviour; and yet if by chance they are left undone, since they are esteemed no necessary conditions of the new covenant, there is no great danger, as long as we can keep a spark of faith alive, as long as we can persuade ourselves that we have a firm persuasion of God's mercy in Christ to ourselves in particular; which kind of newly invented faith an adversary of our church pleasantly, and I fear too truly, defines, when he says[r], it is nothing but a strong fancy.

48. These things therefore considered, I will leave the application of Zacchæus his extraordinary restitution

[r] Dr. Carrier, in his epistle to King James.

to your own consciences, according as God and your own souls shall agree together: only I beseech you not to make a counsel of restitution in general, but to free yourselves from the burden and weight of other men's riches, lest they overleaven and swell you so unmeasurably, that you shall not be able to press in at that strait gate, which would lead you unto those blessings and glorious habitations which Christ hath purchased for you, not with these corruptible things of silver and gold, but with his own precious blood: unto which habitations God of his infinite mercy bring us all, for the same our Lord Jesus Christ his sake: to whom, with the Father, &c.

SERMON VIII.

GALAT. v. 5.

For we through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith.

THIS day the wisdom of the ancient, primitive, and, I think, apostolic church, hath dedicated to the memory of an epiphany, or apparition of a miraculous star, which was sent to guide the magi, or wise men of the East, to the place where our Saviour was born. But suppose there were such a star seen, and three men of the East conducted by it; must all the Christian world presently fall a rejoicing for it? There was reason indeed that they should be exceeding glad, but shall we therefore lose a whole day's labour by it? To say the truth, there is no reason for it; therefore, either better grounds must be found out for rejoicing, or it were well done to make Christmas a day shorter hereafter.

2. But for all this, if we well consider it, we Gentiles might better spare any holyday in the year than this; for there is none besides this properly our own, but the Jews will challenge an equal interest in it. The appearing of the star then is the least part of the solemnity of this day; for a greater and more glorious light than the star this day arose unto us, even that so long expected *light, which was to lighten the Gentiles, which was to give light to them which, sat in darkness and in the shadow of death, and to guide our feet into the way of peace.* This day, as St. Paul saith, ἐπεφάνη ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ, Titus ii. 11,

there was an epiphany likewise of the grace of God, to wit, the gospel; which now, as on this day, began to *bring salvation*, not to the Jews only, but *to all men*, even to us sinners of the Gentiles, of whom these three wise men were the first-fruits. And to say the truth, the appearing of Christ himself, unless he had brought with him this light to lighten the Gentiles in his hand, had not been sufficient to make a solemn day for us. The star then *was not that light, but it was sent to bear witness of that light*, namely, the glory whereof fills my text fuller than the majesty of God ever filled the temple. For here we have the whole nature of the gospel comprehended and straitened within the narrow compass of my text, yet no part of it left out; yea, we have not only the gospel discovered by its own light, as it is in itself, but in comparison with those twinkling, cloudy stars of Jewish ordinances, and that once glorious, but now eclipsed light, the law of works. Since then *this is the day which the Lord hath made for us, we will rejoice and be glad in it;* and we will be ready to hearken especially to any thing that shall be spoken concerning our epiphany, concerning that blessed light, for many ages removed out of our sight, and as on this day beginning to appear in our horizon.

3. The words of my text I find so full and swelling with expression, so fruitful and abounding in rich sense, that I am almost sorry I have said so much of them to fit them to this day: but, in recompense, I will spare the labour of shewing their dependence and connection with the preceding part of the Epistle, and consider them as a loose severed thesis; in which is contained, not only the sum and extract of this Epistle, but likewise of the Christian religion in general, in opposition both to the Mosaical law given to the Jews,

and the law of works, called also the moral, natural law, which from the beginning of the world hath been assented to, and written in the hearts of all mankind. The sense of which words, if they were enlarged, may be this: "We Christians, by the tenor and prescript of our religion, *expect the hope of righteousness*, i. e. the reward which we hope for by righteousness; not as those vain teachers newly sprung up among you Galatians would have us, by obedience unto the carnal, ceremonial law of Moses, but *through the Spirit*, i. e. by a spiritual worship; neither by performing the old covenant of works, which we are not able to fulfil, but *by faith*, by such an obedience as is prescribed unto us in the gospel:" *We through the Spirit wait* &c.

4. In these words then, which comprehend the complete essence of the covenant of grace, we may consider, first, the conditions on man's part required, in these words, *through the Spirit*, and *by faith*. Secondly, upon the performance of our duty there follows God's promise, or the condition, which God will make good unto us; and that is, *the hope of righteousness*, or justification. In the former part, namely, the obedience which is required from us Christians, we may consider it, first, in opposition to the Mosaical law, by these words, *through the Spirit*; which import, that it is not such an outward, carnal obedience, as Moses his law required; but an internal, spiritual worship of the heart and soul. Secondly, the opposition of this new covenant to the old covenant of works, in these words, *by faith*; which signify, that we do not hope for salvation by the works of the law, but by the righteousness of faith, or the gospel. In the second general, we may likewise observe, first, the nature of justification, which comprehends the

promises which God has been pleased to propose to us as the reward of our obedience. Secondly, the interest which we Christians in this life, after we have performed our duties, may have in these promises, which is hope, expressed in these words, *We wait for the hope* &c. Of these—

5. First then of the covenant of grace, as it is distinguished from the Mosaical law by these words, *through the Spirit.* Where we will consider the nature of the Jewish law, and wherein it is distinguished from the Christian. When Almighty God, with a high hand and a stretched-out arm, had rescued the people of Israel from the Egyptian slavery, and brought them in safety into the wilderness, intending then to settle and reduce them into good order and government himself; they by common, voluntary consent, all agreed to submit themselves to whatsoever laws he should prescribe unto them, as we find Exod. xix. from the third to the ninth verse: so that afterwards, Judges viii, when the people, after an unexpected, glorious victory obtained by Gideon, would have made him a king, and have settled the government in his house: No, saith Gideon, (verse 23,) *I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you; the Lord shall rule over you.* And likewise afterwards, when Samuel complained to God of the perverseness of the people, who were weary of his government, and would have a king, as the nations round about them had: Thou art deceived, saith God, it is my government that they are weary of; *they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me;* and now are risen up in rebellion against me, to depose me from that dominion which with their free consents I assumed: for which intolerable, base ingratitude of that nation, in his wrath he gives them a king, he

appoints his successor, who revenged those injuries and indignities offered to Almighty God to the uttermost upon them.

6. Now during the time of God's reign over them, never any king was so careful to provide wholesome laws, both for church and commonwealth, as he was; insomuch as he bids them look about, and consider the nations round about them, if ever any people was furnished with laws and ordinances of such equity and righteousness as theirs were; which laws, because they were ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator, namely, Moses, are commonly called by the name of the *Mosaical law*, and are penned down at large by him in his last four books.

7. The precepts and prohibitions of this law are of several natures; for some duties therein enjoined are such as in their own natures have an intrinsical, essential goodness and righteousness in them; and the contrary to them are in themselves evil, and would have been so, though they had never been expressly prohibited: such are especially the ten words or precepts written by God's own finger in the two tables of stone: other precepts concern matters of their own nature indifferent, and are only to be termed *good*, because they were commanded by a positive, Divine law; such are the ceremonial washings, purifications, sacrifices, &c. A third sort are of a mixed nature, the objects of which are, for the most part, things in their own nature good or evil; but yet the circumstances annexed unto them are merely arbitrary and alterable; as namely, those things which are commanded or forbidden by that which is commonly called the *judicial law:* for example, the law of fourfold restitution of things stolen. Theft of its own nature is evil, and deserves punishment; but that the punishment thereof

should be such a kind of restitution, is not in itself necessary, but may be changed either into a corporal punishment, or, it may be, into a civil death, according as those who have the government of kingdoms and states shall think fit and convenient for the dispositions of the times wherein they live, as we see by experience in the practice of our own kingdoms. For the due execution of which laws, and punishment of transgressors, God appointed judges and rulers; and where they failed through want of care or partiality, himself many times would immediately and personally inflict the punishment.

8. Now the general sanction of this whole law is expressed, Deut. xxvii. 26, in these words, *Cursed is every one that continueth not in all the words of this law to do them;* which curse, as we find it afterwards at large interpreted, imported a sudden, violent, untimely death, together with all kind of misfortune that could make this life miserable. So that he was liable to this curse, that swerved, in any one point or circumstance, from what was contained in that law. Notwithstanding, in some cases, God was pleased to remit the rigour of this curse, and to accept of certain gifts and offerings, and the expiatory sacrifices of beasts, as it were in exchange for the lives of the delinquents. I should but fruitlessly trifle away the time in insisting any longer upon the nature and quality of the Mosaical law. I will now, as I am required by my text, shew you the extreme difference and incomparable excellency of the covenant of grace, or the gospel, beyond this, in several respects.

9. As first, the moral duties of the two tables, as they are part of the Mosaical, Jewish law, required only an external obedience and conformity to the affirmative precepts thereof, and an abstaining from an

outward practice of the negative. They did not reach unto the conscience, no more than the national laws of other kingdoms do: so that, for example, where the law of Moses forbids adultery upon pain of death, he that should in his heart lust after any woman could not be accounted a transgressor of Moses his law, neither was he liable to the punishment therein specified; whereas the gospel requires not only an outward, and, as I may say, corporal obedience to God's commandments, but also an inward sanctification of the soul and conscience, upon the same penalty of everlasting damnation with the former. And what is now said of the moral precepts, (as they are part of Moses his law,) by the same proportion likewise is to be understood of the judicial.

10. Notwithstanding what hath now been said, yet we must know that these very Jews, to whom this law was given, being the children of Abraham, were heirs likewise of the promises which were made unto him and his seed; and the way or means whereby they were to attain unto these promises were the very same by which himself obtained them, namely, faith; so that this Mosaical law (whatsoever glorious opinion the Jews had of it) was not that covenant whereby they were to seek for justification in the sight of God. Till Christ's coming there was no law given which could have given life, that is, which could promise everlasting life unto man; not the law of works, by reason of man's imperfection and weakness; not the law of Moses, by reason of its own weakness, as St. Paul clearly demonstrates, especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

11. For what end then was the law of Moses given? St. Paul shall answer the question, Gal. iii. 19, *It was added,* saith he, *because of transgressions, till the seed*

should come to whom the promises were made.—It was added: as if he should say; After the promises made unto Abraham and his seed, this law was moreover annexed, not as any new condition whereby they were to attain unto the promises, but that, in the mean time, till the promises were fulfilled, they should be restrained, as it were, and kept under a strict outward discipline, from running into any excess of disobedience; for those whom perhaps the goodness and mercy of God, in affording them those promises, would not by the hope of them be able to bridle, they notwithstanding, when they saw punishment even unto death without mercy inflicted upon the transgressors, would be more careful of their ways. It follows, *till the seed should come to whom the promises were made;* or, as himself in Heb. ix. 10. alters the phrase, *till the time of reformation;* that is, when Christ, who was that blessed seed promised to Abraham, should come, he would so clearly and convincingly shew unto the world the way of salvation, that they should no longer need to be kept under their old schoolmaster the law: and therefore at his coming, the date of the whole Mosaical law should expire. And that may be one reason why St. Paul is in this chapter so violent against those that would urge the observation of the Mosaical law; forasmuch as by enforcing it now, when the seed was already come to whom the promises were made, they did seem to evacuate the coming and gospel of Christ.

12. Now that the Mosaical law was not given to the Jews for this end, that by the fulfilling thereof they should promise to themselves the reward of righteousness, everlasting life, is evidently demonstrated, both by our Saviour in the fifth of St. Matthew, and by St. Paul through all his Epistles, but especially in that

to the Hebrews. The force and virtue of whose arguments may in general be reduced to that issue which before I mentioned, viz. that the law, by the performance whereof we may expect life, requires not only an external conformity to the outward works, but an inward, spiritual sanctification also of the soul and heart.

13. But what saith the law of Moses? *It was said,* saith our Saviour[e], *by them of old,* i. e. in the law of Moses, *Thou shalt not kill;* not, Thou shalt not be angry, thou shalt not bear malice in thy heart; so that if thou abstainest from murder, thou fulfillest Moses his law; *and if thou dost kill, thou shalt be in danger of judgment,* i. e. the only punishment which the law of Moses inflicted upon the transgressors thereof was, the danger to be condemned to death by the judgment, or bench of judges appointed for the execution of this law. *But I say unto you;—I,* who clearly shew unto you that way wherein you must walk, before you can promise to yourselves any hope of eternal life;—*I say unto you,* not only, whosoever shall kill his neighbour, but *whosoever,* out of malice or rancour, *shall say unto his brother, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire*[f]. So likewise, not only he which commits adultery[g] in the outward act is culpable by my gospel before God, but also he which looks upon a woman to lust after her in his heart. And so instead of forswearing[h] and breaking of oaths and vows, which Moses his law forbad, Christ condemns fruitless and unnecessary, though true oaths. Instead of the law of retaliation of injuries[i], Christ commands rather to suffer a second injury, than to revenge the first.

[e] Matt. v. 21. [f] Verse 22. [g] Verse 27.
[h] Verse 33. [i] Verse 38.

14. But in the last place, the last example which our Saviour gives may seem to destroy this collection which hath been drawn out of this chapter: for, saith he, verse 43, *You have heard that it hath been said of old, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy.* What? did Moses his law then permit a man to bear hatred and malice unto another? Did I say, permit them? Nay, it commanded them so perfectly to hate their enemies, to wit, the seven nations who possessed that land which was theirs by promise, mentioned Exod. xxxiv. 2, Deut. vii. 1, to which were added the Amalekites, Exod. xxvii. 19, Deut. xxx. 19, that they were enjoined to destroy them utterly, old and young, men, women, and children, even to the very cattle, without all pity and consideration. Insomuch that Saul, for his unseasonable pity but of one person, and that a king of the Amalekites, and reserving the best of the cattle for sacrifice to God, had the kingdom utterly rent from him and his posterity. Whereas by our Saviour, in the words of St. Paul, enmity is slain. No enemies now in Christianity; but all neighbours and friends and brethren: nay more, if any one will needs be your enemy, love him notwithstanding, saith Christ; *if he curse you, bless him; if he hate you, do good unto him; if he use you despitefully, and persecute you, pray for him.* To conclude this argument from our Saviour's authority: Christ adds, as a corollary to his discourse, speaking to his disciples and followers, verse 20, *Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees,* i. e. whereas they content themselves with an outward, carnal obedience to the law, unless you, besides this, add a spiritual sanctification of the mind, *ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven.* I deny not now, but that there may be a mystical, spi-

ritual sense even of this law, and an application thereof almost as perfect as is expressed in the gospel; which those, who were guided extraordinarily by the Spirit of God, and with help of tradition, might collect out of it: as the prophet David, Psalm xix. 7, where he saith, *The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes*, &c. And in this sense the succeeding prophets endeavoured to persuade the people to apprehend it: but this was a forced sense of Moses his law, not primarily intended by the author; it was no proper, natural meaning of it.

15. Proportionably to this doctrine of our Saviour, St. Paul, speaking of Moses his law, considered in its proper, natural, and direct sense, and as extremely insufficient to justify a man in the sight of God, calls it ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα, *weak and beggarly elements*, Gal. iv. 9: and νόμον τῆς ἐντολῆς σαρκικῆς, *a law of a carnal commandment*, Heb. vii. 16; i. e. a law which a carnal man, one not guided by the Spirit of God, might perform: and *a law, which made no man perfect*, Heb. vii. 19. Nay more, saith he, it is not ἄμεμπτος, *not without fault*, Heb. viii. 7; i. e. a man might perform the law of Moses, and yet not be ἄμεμπτος, he may be a wicked man still in God's sight; for all his legal righteousness, he may remain dead in trespasses and sins. Insomuch, as the same Paul, speaking of himself before he was converted to Christianity, says, *Concerning the righteousness which is of the law I was blameless*[c]: I did so exactly fulfil that measure of righteousness which Moses his law required of me, that in respect of that law I was a guiltless innocent person; I could justify myself; I durst with confidence

[c] Phil. iii. 6.

oppose myself in judgment to the censure of our most severe, strict judges.

16. But what then? Durst Paul with this his legal righteousness appear before God, as expecting to be justified in his sight, as claiming any interest in the promises of eternal life, by virtue of this his innocency? By no means: No, saith he, though I were blameless as concerning this righteousness which is of the law; though I had all the privileges that any Jew could be capable of, *circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews; according to the law, a Pharisee*[d]; (i. e. of that sect which had preserved the law in the greatest integrity;) though I were [e]*so zealous thereof, that I persecuted the churches* of Christ which sought to abrogate it; and lastly, though *concerning the righteousness of the law I was blameless;* yet notwithstanding all these, I will have no better an opinion of these privileges than they deserve; I will account them only outward carnal privileges; if I at all rejoice in them, yet this I will account only *a rejoicing in the flesh.* Far be it from me to think to appear before Christ with such a righteousness as this is. God forbid I should expect to be accepted of by him for these carnal, outward privileges: nay, so far am I from that, that whatsoever I thought, before I knew him, to be a gain and a prerogative unto me, now that I have attained to the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ, *I account as loss*[f], as things likely to be rather a hinderance unto me; yea, as dross and dung; and *desire to be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law,* (for, alas! how mean and unworthy will that appear in his eyes,) *but the righteousness which is of faith, the righteousness which is of God*

[d] Phil. iii. 5. [e] Verse 6. [f] Verse 8.

by faith. The former righteousness was mine own, and therefore could not stand in his sight; but that righteousness to which faith or the gospel directs me, proceeds not from my own strength, but only from God, who will crown his own graces in me.

17. I have thus far shewed you, both from our Saviour's authority and St. Paul's likewise, that the performing of the moral duties, as far as they were enforced by virtue of Moses his law, could not make a man capable of attaining to the promises of the new covenant. And (that I may add one confirmation of this more out of the Old Testament) hereupon it is, that God by the prophet Ezekiel manifestly sheweth, that he gave not the law of Moses to the Israelites for this end, that they should think that the performance of that law was all the duty which they owed unto God; or that that obedience could make them accepted of him unto eternal life: No, saith he, if you have any such conceit of those ordinances, *the statutes which I gave them were not good, and the judgments such as they should not live by them*[g]. I will now proceed to shew you the weakness and unprofitableness of the ceremonial part of Moses his law likewise, for such a purpose; and that by arguments taken from St. Paul, especially out of that his most divine Epistle to the Hebrews.

18. The first argument shall be drawn out of the ninth chapter of that Epistle, the sum whereof is this: the first covenant, which had *ordinances of divine service, and a worldly sanctuary; which consisted in meats and drinks, and divers washings, and carnal ordinances imposed on them till the time of reformation; in which also were offered both gifts and sacrifices;* yet with all these ceremonies and formalities, could

[g] Ezek. xx. 25. [h] Heb. ix. 1, 9, 10.

enter no deeper than the flesh; *they could not make him which did the service perfect, as pertaining to the conscience*[i]: that is, for example, those expiatory sacrifices, which were to be offered for him which had transgressed, they absolved him indeed from a civil, carnal punishment, but they could not reach to the conscience; that remained still as guilty and defiled before God as ever it was. And can it be imagined that a man so qualified, with such an accusing, condemning conscience, could with any hope or confidence appear before God, as expecting to be freed from the danger of hell, for the cost or ceremony of a sacrifice? Those sacrifices therefore and ceremonies, *the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, might sanctify a man to the purifying of the flesh*[k], and that is all they could do; and so far they could sanctify even the most profane person, or the vilest hypocrite in the world: *but it must be only the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot unto God, that is able to purge our consciences from dead works to serve the living God*[l].

19. But it may be objected, the baptizing and washing of us Christians, and our commemoration of the true sacrifice, are powerful and effectual, even to the sanctification of the soul and spirit: and why should not the water of Jordan have as much virtue in it during Moses his law as it has had since, or as ours has now? why should not their prefiguration of the true sacrifice by typical sacrifices be as much worth as our post-commemoration thereof? for Christ was the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever. I answer, that baptism and the eucharist are proper instruments whereby the sacrifice of Christ is applied

[i] Heb. ix. 9. [k] Verse 13. [l] Verse 14.

and made beneficial unto us, and were instituted for that and no other end; whereas the proper and direct end of Moses his liturgy and ceremonies were only civil, carnal immunities: and though it be true, that the legal sacrifices were very apt and commodious to shadow forth the oblation and satisfaction of Christ; yet this use of them was so mystical and reserved, so impossible to be collected out of the letter of the law, that without a special revelation from God, the eyes of the Israelites were too weak to serve them to pierce through those dark clouds and shadows, and to carry their observation to the substance. So that I conceive those sacrifices of that law, in this respect, are a great deal more beneficial to us Christians; for there is a great difference between sacraments and types: types are only useful after the antitype is discovered, for the confirmation of their faith that follow. As for example, Abraham's offering of Isaac by faith did lively represent the real oblation of Christ, but in that respect was of little or no use till Christ was indeed crucified; it being impossible to make that history a groundwork of their faith in Christ. The like may be said of the legal sacrifices.

20. My second argument shall be taken out of those words of St. Paul, Acts xiii. 38, where, speaking of Christ, he saith, *By him all that believe are justified from all things, from which they could not be justified by the law of Moses:* from which I infer, that since there were many sins for which the law of Moses allowed no sacrifice, no redemption, no satisfaction, no commutation, in what a fearful, desperate case would a person that should commit such sins be, if he were to expect justification before God by the law of Moses? For that must needs lead him to despair: it could shew him no refuge, no sanctuary to fly unto;

nothing would remain unto such a person, but *a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, to consume God's adversary:* and therefore no marvel, if the same apostle (Heb. vii. 17, 18.) saith, *That the former law, for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof,* (i. e. to justification,) *was to be disannulled,* since it could make nothing perfect.

21. The last argument shall be inferred from that saying of the apostle, Heb. viii. 6, where speaking of the new covenant of grace, he saith, *It was established on better promises,* namely, than the Jewish covenant was: for all the happiness which was to be expected from Moses his law, was only an exemption from the inconveniences and curses of this life, long days and peaceable, enriched with worldly content and prosperity: whereas the blessings which attend the performance of the new covenant, or the gospel, are unspeakable and glorious; *such as eye hath not seen,* nor indeed, as long as it is mortal, can see, *neither can the heart of man conceive them, being eternal in the heavens.* Neither will the ordinary evasion serve the turn, as if these temporal blessings, or plagues and curses, mentioned in Moses his writings, should purposely signify the blessed estate of glorified saints, or woes of the damned; for then St. Paul's argument would fall to the ground; and indeed that whole Epistle to the Hebrews would be rendered inconcluding, as might easily be demonstrated, if the time and throng of matter which follows would permit.

22. I would not have you so conceive me, as if I would exclude the Jews of the Old Testament from being partakers of the promises of the gospel: no, God forbid: but that which I have said is this, that they attained not unto them by performing Moses his law, but by the very same means by which we hope to be

partakers of them, namely, by performing the substance of those duties which are clearly delivered unto us in the gospel, and may be found sprinkled in several places, even in Moses his writings, and no question but were more fully and completely delivered unto them by tradition from their fathers. And hereupon, I suppose, it is, that when any were converted to the knowledge and worship of the true God in those times, they who made them proselytes were not curious to enforce upon them the observation of Moses his ordinances and ceremonies; as we find in the behaviour of Elisha to Naaman the Assyrian, of Jonah to the Ninevites, of Daniel to Nebuchadnezzar, and of the rest of the prophets to the Tyrians, Moabites, Egyptians, to whom they wrote, and whose conversion they sought: none of which urged upon them the observation of the Mosaical liturgy, as a thing necessary or needful to be observed by them. Indeed those who were content to live amongst the Jews, and enjoy their privileges and immunities, were bound to undergo the burden and costliness of the offerings and sacrifices, which, as St. Paul saith, was so great, that they were both to themselves and their forefathers intolerable.

23. I will conclude this whole point of the difference between Moses his law and the law of faith, or the gospel, in God's own words by the prophet, Jer. xxxi. 31, twice quoted by St. Paul in Heb. viii. and x. where God saith, *Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah: not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt; which my covenant they brake, although I was an husband unto them, saith*

the Lord: but this shall be the covenant that I will make with them; After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my laws in their hearts, and write them in their inward parts, &c. As if he should say, The former covenant, which I made with them by Moses, was only written in two tables of stone, as the Roman laws were in twelve tables, and required only an outward conformity and obedience, for the which they did not need an inward, sanctifying, spiritual grace to enable them, as the new covenant of grace doth. And therefore, for the performing of that, I will abundantly afford and supply them with all the graces of my Holy Spirit.

24. But a little to interrupt this text: you will say, What, had not the Jews God's law written in their hearts also? did not they worship him in spirit as well as we? No question: but this they did, not as commanded by Moses his law, but by that covenant made with Abraham, and by him traduced unto them. It follows, *And I will be their God, and they shall be my people;* i. e. I will be their God after a more especial manner than I was unto them in the wilderness; I will not only be their king, to govern them in peace and tranquillity, out of the danger and fear of their enemies the nations about them, and preserve them safe in the promised land; but I will keep them from the fury and malice of their spiritual enemies, that would seek to destroy their souls; and I will bring them to a land infinitely exceeding theirs, and whereof the land of Canaan was but a most unproportionable type and shadow, even mine own blessed and glorious kingdom, reserved in the highest heavens for them who sincerely perform the conditions of my new covenant. Thus far, as largely as so small a measure of time would permit me, I have told you the difference

betwixt the covenant of grace and Moses his law, implied in these words of my text, *through the Spirit.* I come now to my second particular, namely, the distinction of the same covenant of grace from the law of works; wherein I shall proceed by the same method, i. e. shewing you first absolutely the nature of those laws, and then the several differences betwixt them.

25. The law of works is the same with that, to the obedience whereof Adam was obliged in paradise, with this exception, that besides the moral, natural law written in his heart, (the substance whereof is to this day reserved in the minds of all the sons of Adam,) Adam had a second, positive law enjoined him by God, namely, the forbidding him to eat of the tree of good and evil; which one precept cannot properly be called a part of the law of works, or nature, since the action thereby forbidden was not of its own nature evil, but only made unlawful by virtue of God's prohibition. Excepting therefore this one particular precept, the law which was given to Adam (called *the law of works*) comprehended in it all kind of moral duties referred either to God, his neighbour, or himself, which have in them a natural, essential goodness or righteousness; and, by consequence, the prohibition of all manner of actions, words, or thoughts, which are in themselves contrary to justice and reason. All these precepts are generally supposed to be contained in the ten words written by God's own finger in two tables of stone; though, with submission, I think, that those two tables contain only directly the moral duties of man to God and his neighbour: for it will require much forcing and straining, to bring the duties and sins of a man to and against his own person within that compass; as temperance, sobriety,

and their opposites, gluttony, drunkenness, self-incontinency, &c.

26. The obligation to this law is so strict, severe, and peremptory, that it required not only an universal obedience to whatsoever is contained in that law, in the full extent, latitude, and perfection thereof, but that continual, without interruption, through the whole course of a man's life; insomuch, that he that should but once transgress it in the least point or circumstance, should without redemption or dispensation be rendered culpable as of the breach of the whole law, and remain liable to the malediction thereof. And to this law, in this strictness mentioned, are all men living obliged, who are out of Christ, and who either know not of him, or are not willing to submit themselves to his new covenant.

27. The justification, which was due to the performance of this law by justice, and as the wages thereof, that is, the condition wherein God obliged himself to such as fulfilled it, was the promises of this life, and that which is to come; long, happy, and peaceable days in this world, and in their due time a translation to the joys and glory of heaven. This justification did not comprehend remission of sins, as ours does; for the law excluded all hope of pardon after sin, no promise made to repentance, repentance would do no good. The court, wherein they were to be judged, was a court of mere rigorous justice; justice rejoiced over and against mercy, grace, loving-kindness, and all those blessed and glorious attributes, whereby God, for our Saviour Jesus Christ his sake, is pleased and delighted to be known unto the world.

28. This law, in the rigour thereof, might easily have been performed by Adam: he had that perfection

of grace and holiness given him, which was exactly equal and commensurable to whatsoever duties were enjoined him: but by his wilful, voluntary (God forbid we should say enforced, or absolutely decreed) prevarication he utterly undid both himself and his posterity, leaving them engaged for his debts, and as much of their own, without almost any money to pay them. Without Christ we are all obliged to the same strictness and severity of the law, which, by reason of our poverty and want of grace, is become impossible to be performed by us; as the blessed apostle St. Paul hath evidently proved by induction, in the beginning of his Epistle to the Romans: in the first chapter declaring, that the Gentiles neither did nor could perform the law; in the second saying as much of the Jews; and in the third joining them both together in the same miserable, desperate estate. The conclusion of his whole discourse is, *All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God.* Thus much for the law of works.

29. The state of mankind without Christ being so deplored, so out of all hope, as I told you, Almighty God, out of his infinite mercy and goodness, by his unspeakable wisdom found out an atonement, accepting of the voluntary exinanition and humiliation of his dearly beloved Son, who submitted himself to be made flesh, to all our natural infirmities, (sin only excepted,) and at last to die that ignominious, accursed death of the cross, for the redemption of mankind; who in his death made a covenant with his Father, that those, and only those, who would be willing to submit themselves to the obedience of a new law, which he would prescribe unto mankind, should for the merits of his obedience and death be justified in the sight of God, have their sins forgiven them, and

be made heirs of everlasting glory. Now that Christ's death was, in order of nature, before the giving of the gospel, is, I think, evident by those words of St. Paul, Heb. ix. 16, 17, where comparing the old covenant of the Jews with that of Christ, he saith, *Where a testament is, there must also of necessity be the death of the testator. For a testament is of force after men are dead: otherwise it is of no strength at all while the testator liveth. Whereupon neither the first covenant was dedicated without blood. It was necessary therefore* (saith he, verse 23.) *that the patterns of things in the heavens should be purified with these*, i. e. with the blood of beasts; *but the heavenly things themselves with better things than these*, namely, with the blood of Christ.

30. Which covenant of Christ, (called in scripture *the new covenant, the covenant of grace, the grace of God, the law of faith,*) according to the nature of all covenants, being made between two parties, (at the least,) requires conditions on both sides to be performed; and being a covenant of promise, the conditions on man's part must necessarily go before, otherwise they are no conditions at all. Now man's duty is comprehended by St. Paul in this word *faith*, and God's promise in the word *justification*. And thus far we have proceeded upon sure grounds, for we have plain, express words of scripture for that which hath been said; but the main difficulty remains behind, and that is, the true sense and meaning of these two words, *faith* and *justification*, and what respect and dependence they have one of the other. Which difficulty, by God's assistance, and with your Christian, charitable patience, I will now endeavour to dissolve.

31. For the first therefore, which is faith, we may consider it in several respects; to wit, first, as referring

us to, and denoting the principal object of evangelical faith, which is Christ. Now if faith be meant in this sense, (as by many good writers of our reformed churches it is understood,) then the meaning of that so often-repeated saying of St. Paul, *We are justified by faith without the works of the law*, must be, we are justified only for the obedience of Christ, and not for our righteousness of the law; which is certainly a most catholic, orthodox sense, and not to be denied by any Christian, though I doubt it does not express all that St. Paul intended in that proposition. Secondly, faith signifies the act, or exercise, or duty of faith, as it comprehends all evangelical obedience; called by St. Paul *the obedience of faith*, Rom. xvi. 26. *the righteousness of faith*, Rom. iv. 13. and ix. 13. and x. 6. And it is an inherent grace or virtue, wrought in us by the powerful operation of God's Spirit. Or, thirdly, it may be taken for *the doctrine of faith*, called also by him *the word of faith*, Rom. x. 8, and *the word of God's grace*, Acts xx. 32, and *the hearing of faith*, Gal. iii. 2. In which sense of these he meant the word St. Paul may seem to resolve us, Rom. ii. 27, where he saith, that *boasting is excluded by the law of faith*; which words are extant in the very heat of the controversy of justification. Now these senses of faith, if they be applied to that conclusion of St. Paul, *we are justified by faith*, come all to one pass; for in effect it is all one to say, We are justified by our obedience or righteousness of faith, and to say, We are justified by the gospel, which prescribes that obedience: as on the contrary, to say, We are justified by the law, or by works prescribed by the law, is all one. There is a fourth acceptation of faith, taken for the single habit or grace of faith, and applied to this proposition (only of all Christians that

I have heard of) by the Belgic remonstrants; which being a new-invented fancy, and therefore unwarrantable, yet I shall hereafter have occasion, it may be, to say something of it.

32. St. Paul's proposition, I am persuaded, excludes none of these senses; it is capable of them all. But before I shew you how they may consist together, I will in the first place declare of what nature that righteousness is, which God, by virtue of his new covenant, requires at our hands, before he will make good his promise unto us. First then, God requires at our hands a sincere obedience unto the substance of all moral duties of the old covenant, and that by the gospel; and this obedience is so necessary, that it is impossible any man should be saved without it. The pressing of this doctrine takes up by much the greatest part of the evangelical writings. Now, that these duties are not enforced upon us as conditions of the old covenant of works, is evident, because by Christ we are freed from the obligation of the old covenant: God forbids that we should have a thought of expecting *the hope of righteousness* upon those terms; for that covenant will not admit of any imperfection in our works, and then in what a miserable case are we! There is no hope for us, unless some course be taken, that not only our imperfections, but our sins, and those of a high nature, be passed by, and overlooked by Almighty God, as if he had lost his eyes to see them, or his memory to remember them.

33. The substance then of the moral law is enjoined us by the new covenant, but with what difference I shall shew you presently And hereupon it is that our Saviour saith to the Pharisees, who were willing to make any misconstruction of the doctrine, *Think you that I am come to destroy the law?* Aye, by all means,

say we: God forbid else, for unless the old law be destroyed, we are undone; as long as that is alive, we are dead; if the law of works have its natural force still, woe be to us. Therefore that must not be Christ's meaning: his intent is, as if he should say, Think you that I am come to destroy the righteousness of the law? or disoblige men from the necessity of being good, holy, and virtuous? No, by no means; *I am not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil it:* the righteousness of the law, according to the substance thereof, shall be as necessarily required by virtue of that new covenant, which I preach unto you, and to which I exhort you all to submit yourselves, as ever it was by the old covenant; only, because of your weakness and infirmity, I will abate the rigour of it: those who, notwithstanding my offer of grace and pardon upon such easy conditions as I prescribe, will yet continue in an habitual state of profaneness and irreligion, shall be as culpable, nay, ten times more miserable, than if they never had heard of me, for their wilful neglecting so great salvation. *It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one tittle of the law to fail:* for God would be no loser by the annihilation of the world, whereas if any part of the moral law should expire, the very beams and rays of God's essential goodness should be darkened and destroyed.

34. In like manner saith St. Paul, Rom. iii. ult. *Do we make void the law through faith? God forbid: yea, we establish the law.* Now if a succeeding covenant establisheth any part of a precedent, especially if there be any alteration made in the conditions established, all obligation whatsoever is taken from the old covenant, and those conditions are in force only by virtue of the new. When the Norman conqueror was pleased to establish and confirm to the English some of

the ancient Saxon laws, are those laws then become in force as they are Saxon? No, for the authority of the Saxons, the authority of those laws, is supposed to be extinguished, and therefore no power remains in them to look to the execution of them: but by the confirmation of the Norman they are become indeed Norman laws, and are now in force, not because they were first made by the Saxons, but only by virtue of the succeeding power of the Norman line. So likewise, when the gospel enjoins the substance of the same duties which the old covenant of works required, are we Christians enforced to the obedience of them because they are duties of the law? By no means: but only because our Saviour and only law-maker, Jesus Christ, commands the same in the law of faith.

35. Thus far the new covenant is in some terms of agreement with the old, inasmuch as the same moral duties are enjoined in them both, as parts of the conditions of both. But the difference herein is, that the law commands a precise, exact fulfilling of these precepts, (as I told you before,) which the gospel, descending to our infirmities, remits and qualifies much: for in the gospel he is accounted to fulfil the moral precepts that obeys them according to that measure of grace which God is pleased to allow him; that obeys God, though not with a perfect, yet with a sincere, upright heart; that when he is overcome with a temptation to sin, continues not in it, but recovers himself to his former righteousness by repentance and new obedience. Thus much then for the moral precepts, and with what difference they are commanded in the old and new covenant.

36. In the second place, there is another part of evangelical obedience, which is purely evangelical, and which hath no commerce nor reference at all to the law,

and that is the grace of repentance: for, saith St. Paul, Acts xvii. 30, *But now* (that is, by the gospel) *God commands all men every where to repent.* Now repentance implies a serious consideration and acknowledgment of that miserable estate whereunto our sins have brought us, and thereupon an hearty, unfeigned sorrow for them, a perfect hatred and detestation of them, inferring a full, peremptory resolution to break them off, and interrupt the course of them by new obedience. This, I say, is an obedience purely evangelical, the law of works did not at all meddle with it, neither indeed could it. The law condemns a man, as soon as ever he is guilty of the breach thereof, and makes no promise at all of remission of sins upon repentance; but rather quite excludes it. Yet from the grace of repentance we may gather a forcible argument to make good that, which before we spoke concerning the renewing of the moral precepts in the new covenant. For no reasonable man can deny that repentance is absolutely necessary before a man can be justified. Now what is that, for which (for example) a new-converted heathen repents, but the breach of the moral law? Therefore by this necessity of repentance, he acknowledgeth (and so do we) that by such sins he was excluded from all hope of being justified. Now it were absurd for a man to say, that any thing excludes a man from being capable of receiving the promises of a covenant, but only the breaking of the conditions thereof.

37. The third part of evangelical righteousness is faith; not moral, but Christian: which is, a relying upon Christ as the only meritorious cause of whatsoever benefit we obtain by the new covenant; it being for his sake both that God bestows upon us grace, whereby we are enabled to perform his will; and after we have done our duty, that he will freely, and not as

wages, bestow upon us the reward thereof. There is another virtue evangelical, which is hope, but of that I must speak in my last point. And thus I have gone through the conditions required on man's part in the new covenant, all which, I suppose, are implied in this word *faith*; which being taken in so general a sense, may, I conceive, be thus not improperly defined, viz. to be a receiving and embracing of the promises made unto us in Christ, upon the terms and conditions proposed in the gospel.

38. Now follow the conditions on God's part, comprehended in these words, *the hope of righteousness*, which are equivalent to the term *justification*; the nature whereof I shall now endeavour to discover. Justification, I suppose, imports the whole treasure of blessings and favours, which God, who is rich in mercy, will freely bestow on those whom he accepts as righteous for his beloved Son our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ his sake; which are, first, remission of sins, and an interest in the joys of heaven in this life, and a full consummation both of grace and glory in the life to come. Some, I know, think that St. Paul, when he discourses of justification, thereby intends only remission of sins: and the ground of this opinion is taken from St. Paul quoting those words of David, when he states the doctrine of justification, Rom. iv. 6, 7, 8, where he saith, that *David describeth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works, saying, Blessed are they whose unrighteousness is forgiven, and whose sins are covered: blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin.* But if this argument out of the Epistle to the Romans be of sufficient force for their sense of justification, then certainly an argument from as express words in the Epistle to the Galatians will be as con-

cluding for mine, (in which Epistle he also purposely states the same questions.) The words are, Gal. iii. **11**, *that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God, it is evident; for, the just shall live by faith.* Now *to live*, I hope, does not signify to have one's sins forgiven him, but to be saved: therefore, unless St. Paul include a right unto salvation within the compass of justification, that text might have been spared, as nothing at all serving for his purpose. Besides, is not salvation as free, as gracious, as undeserved an act of God, as remission of sins? Is it not as much for Christ's sake that we are saved, as that our sins are forgiven us? Thus much for what I suppose is meant by justification. I will now, as briefly and as perspicuously as I can, (without using allegories and metaphorical expressions, with which this point is ordinarily much obscured,) shew you the combination of these two words, in what sense I suppose St. Paul may use this proposition, *We are justified by faith, without the works of the law.*

39. In the first place, therefore, I will lay down this conclusion, as an infallible, safe foundation, that if we have respect to the proper meritorious cause of our justification, we must not take faith, in that proposition, for any virtue or grace inherent in us, but only for the proper and principal object thereof, Jesus Christ and his merits. And the meaning of that proposition must be, that we are not justified for the merits of any righteousness in ourselves, whether legal or evangelical, but only for the obedience and death of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ. Though this be most true, yet I suppose that St. Paul in that proposition had not a respect to the meritorious cause of our justification, but to that formal condition required in us before we be justified; as I think may appear by that which follows.

40. I told you even now, that I would in this point purposely abstain from using metaphors and figurative allusions; and the reason is, because I suppose, and not without reasonable grounds, that the stating of this point of justification by metaphors has made this doctrine, which is set down with greater light and perspicuity in holy scripture, than almost any other, to be a doctrine of the most scholastical subtilty, the fullest of shadows and clouds of all the rest. For example: in that fashion and dress of divinity, as it is now worn, sliced and mangled into theses and distinctions, we find this point of our justification thus expressed; That faith is therefore said to justify us, because it is that which makes Christ's righteousness ours; it is as it were an instrument or hand, whereby we receive, lay hold on, and apply Christ unto ourselves. Here is nought but flowers of rhetoric, figures and metaphors; which, though they are capable of a good sense, yet are very improper to state a controversy withal.

41. But let us examine them a little: we must not, say they, conceive of faith, as if it were a virtue or grace, or any part of righteousness inherent in us; for faith, as a grace, has no influence at all in our justification. Mark the coherence of these things: faith is considered as an hand or an instrument in our justification, and yet, for all it is a hand, it is nothing in or of us; for it seems hands are not parts of men's bodies. Again, faith puts on Christ, receives him, lays hold upon him, makes his righteousness ours; and yet it does nothing for all that. Besides, how can faith be properly called an instrument of justification? An instrument is that, which the principal cause, the efficient, makes use of in his operation. Now justification, in this sense, is an immanent, internal action of God,

in which there is no cooperation of any other agent, nor any real alteration wrought in man, the object thereof. Does God then use faith as an instrument, in producing the act of justification? No, but it is *instrumentum passivum*, saith one; that is, a thing never heard of in nature before; and the meaning is sure, faith, certainly, is something, but what a kind of thing we know not. By these means it comes to pass that the doctrine of our justification, as some men have handled it, is become as deep, as unsearchable a mystery, as that of the Trinity.

42. Without question there is nothing can be more evident to a man, that shall impartially consider St. Paul's method in his discourse of justification, than that by faith he intends some operative, working grace in us: for instance, the apostle proves that we Christians are to seek for justification the same way that Abraham attained unto it, namely, by faith; for, saith the scripture in his quotation, *Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness.* What was that which was accounted to him? his believing; that is, say some, Christ, who was the object of his belief. This is a forced interpretation certainly, and which a Jew would never have been persuaded to. But that Christ was not at all intended in that place, it is evident; for Abraham's belief there had respect to God's promise made to him of giving him a son in his old age, and by that son, a seed as innumerable as the stars in heaven, as appears Gen. xv. 4, 5, 6, whereas the promise of Christ follows three chapters after, to wit, Gen. xviii. 18. Again, the apostle in many places useth these words, *We are justified by faith in Christ*, and *by the faith of Jesus Christ;* which speeches of his will admit of no tolerable sense, unless by faith he intends some work or obedience performed by us.

This therefore being taken for granted, that by faith is meant some condition required at our hands, (and yet my former conclusion of our justification only for the merits of Christ remaining firm,) we will in the next place consider what kind of obedience that of faith is, and in what sense it may be said to justify us.

43. What satisfaction I conceive may be given to this query, I will set down in this assertion: that since justification, even as it includes remission of sins, is that promise to perform which unto us God has obliged himself in the new covenant; it must necessarily presuppose in the person to be so justified, such an obedience as the gospel requires; namely, first, repentance from dead works, a conversion to a new obedience of those holy, moral commands, which are ratified in the gospel, and a relying upon Christ as the only meritorious cause of our justification and salvation, by a particular, evangelical faith. All this, I say, is prerequired in the person who is made capable of justification, either in the exercise, or at least *in præparatione cordis*, in a full resolution of the heart, and entire disposition of the mind: so that, though God be the sole, proper, efficient cause; and Christ, as mediator, the sole, proper, meritorious cause of our justification; yet these inherent dispositions are exacted on our part as *causæ sine quibus non*, as necessary conditions to be found in us, before God will perform this great work freely and graciously towards us, and only for the merits of Christ.

44. This assertion may, I suppose, be demonstrated, first, from the nature of a covenant: for unless there be prerequired conditions on man's part to be performed, before God will proportion his reward, the very nature of a covenant is destroyed. And it will not boot to

answer, that though there be no qualifications required in a man, before he obtain remission of sins, yet they are to be found in us before we be made capable of salvation. For as I have shewed before, salvation is as properly a gracious act of mercy, as free and undeserved a gift, as truly bestowed on us only for the merits of Christ, as remission of sins; and therefore may as well consist without any change in us, as the former. And secondly, if that proposition of St. Paul, *We are justified by faith, without the works of the law*, exclude all conditions to be performed by man; if it exclude not only the righteousness of the law, (which indeed it doth,) but the obedience of faith, or the gospel likewise, from being necessary dispositions in us before we receive remission of sins; then another saying of his, parallel to this, will exclude as well the necessity of an evangelical obedience to our salvation: *for*, saith St. Paul, Eph. ii. 8, *by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast.* But I hope no man will be so unchristian-like, as to exclude the necessity of our good works to salvation, for all this saying of St. Paul; therefore they may as well be prerequired to remission of sins, notwithstanding the former place.

45. Secondly, if there be no necessity of any predisposition in us before remission of sins, then a man may have his sins forgiven him, and so become a person accepted of God, whilst he is a person unregenerate, unsanctified; whilst he is, Ephes. ii. 1, *dead in trespasses and sins;* whilst he *walks according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience;* whilst he *has his conversation in the lusts of the flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind;* being, not-

withstanding his justification, *a child of wrath*, as much as the profanest heathen; though the veriest reprobate in the world; lastly, though he be no child of Abraham according to faith, that is, not having in him that faith which was imputed to Abraham for righteousness. Now whether this divinity be consonant to God's word, let your own consciences be judges.

46. A third argument to prove the truth of the former assertion shall be taken from several texts of scripture, where justification, even as it is taken for remission of sins, is ascribed to other virtues besides faith, whether it be taken for a particular virtue, or for the object thereof. For example, our Saviour saith expressly, Matth. xii. 37, *by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned:* where we see justification is taken in that proper sense in which we maintain it against the papists. Again, Matth. vi. 14, 15; *If you forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you; but if you forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.* Again, our Saviour speaking concerning Mary saith, Luke vii. 47, *her sins are forgiven her, because she loveth much.* If the time, or your patience, could suffer me, I might add a fourth reason to prove my former assertion, which is, the clearness and evidence of agreement and reconciliation between St. Paul and St. James in this point, upon these grounds, without any new invented justification before men; which is a conceit taken up by some men, only to shift off an adversary's argument, which otherwise would press them too hard, they think: for St. Paul's faith, taken for the obedience of the gospel, would easily accord with St. James his (James i. 27.) *holy and undefiled religion before God*, or works, which is all one; and St. James would be St. Paul's

expositor, without any injury or detraction at all from the merits of Christ, or God's free and undeserved mercy to us in him. But I must hasten.

47. The full meaning, then, of St. Paul's proposition, *We are justified by faith, and not by the works of the law*, and by consequence, the state of the whole controversy of justification, in brief, may be this: that if we consider the efficient cause of our justification, it is only God which justifies; if that for which we are justified, that is, the meritorious cause thereof, it is not for any thing in ourselves, but only for the obedience and satisfaction of our blessed Saviour, that God will justify us: but if we have respect to what kind of conditions are to be found in us, before Christ will suffer us to be made partakers of the benefit of his merits, then we must say, that we are not justified by such a righteousness, so perfect, absolute, and complete, as the law of works does require; but by the righteousness of the gospel, by a righteousness proportionable to that grace which God is pleased to bestow on us; not by the perfection, but the sincerity of our obedience to the new covenant. And the apostle's main argument will serve to prove this to any understanding most undeniably. St. Paul has demonstrated, that if we consider the rigour of the law, all men, both Jews and Gentiles, are concluded under sin, and most necessarily obnoxious to God's wrath. Which reason of his would not be at all prevailing, unless by *works of the law* he intended only such a perfect obedience as the law requires, which, by reason of man's weakness, is become impossible unto him. For it might easily be replied upon him thus: We confess no man can fulfil the law, but the conditions of the gospel are not only possible, but, by the assistance of God's Spirit, easy to be performed; so that though for this reason the former

righteousness be excluded from our justification, not only *quoad meritum*, but also *quoad præsentiam*; yet the latter evangelical righteousness is excluded from our justification only *quoad meritum*.

48. But I perceive an objection ready to assault me; and I will impartially assist the force and strength thereof against myself, with all the advantage I can. It is to this purpose: when men are disputing in the schools, or discoursing in the pulpit, they may state this question as they please; but the fittest time to decide this point is, when, in a serious contemplation, we present before our eyes Almighty God, the righteous, impartial Judge of heaven and earth, sitting in his throne, ready to execute judgment, and ourselves arraigned at the bar before him, expecting a final, irreversible sentence. In these circumstances, I would fain see the stoutest-hearted man alive, that should dare to say unto Almighty God, Thou hast given me a law, which my conscience witnesseth unto me that I have performed: therefore I now challenge thee, upon thy truth and faithfulness, that thou perform thy conditions also with me, and give me remission of my former sins, as a reward of my obedience.

49. For answer to this objection: this is confessed by all Christians of all religions, that a profane person, or an hypocrite, dying in such an estate, shall neither in the last day be acquitted of his sins, nor saved: therefore unless a man's heart can witness unto him that he hath unfeignedly kept God's commandments, *God, who is greater than his heart, and knoweth all things*[b], will assuredly condemn him: but then we must know, that it is not a Christian's plea, to rely upon his own, though sincere, unhypocritical righteousness, and therefore to challenge heaven. But, as our Saviour adviseth

[b] 1 John iii 20.

us, *We, when we have done all we can, must say, We are unprofitable servants*[c]: and not say so in a compliment only, but in the truth and sincerity of our hearts. It is the perfection of evangelical righteousness to deny our own righteousness, to disclaim all meritorious efficacy thereof, either in remission of sins or salvation. Therefore he that, after he hath performed God's commandment, shall think to challenge the reward, as of a debt, or as promised only to his own holiness, wants the proper, peculiar righteousness of a Christian, who must say, in holy Job's words, *Though I were righteous, yet would I not answer God, but I would make supplication to my judge*[d]: I would say unto him, Lord, look not upon that holiness which is in me, which yet is not mine neither, for thou wroughtest it in me; but look on him in whom only thou art well pleased: accept of me in him, and for his sake only, who hath fulfilled all righteousness for me; who through the eternal Spirit hath offered himself without spot unto thee, being made sin and a curse for me, that I might be made the righteousness of God in him. To him only be glory for ever and ever. The sum of all which I have said is contained Tit. ii. 11, 14. *The grace of God, which bringeth* &c. And so I come to the second general, namely, the promise which God will make good unto us who sincerely obey him, contained in these words, *We wait for the hope*, &c.

50. Which general I divided into two particulars: 1. The nature of the reward promised, which I told you was justification, containing remission of sins and everlasting life. 2. The interest which, during this life, we ordinarily have in that reward, namely, hope, expressed in these words, *We wait for the hope of righteousness*; that is, by hope we expect the reward

[c] Luke xvii. 10. [d] Job ix. 15.

of righteousness. I cannot now enlarge myself in the former particular: something I have already been forced to say of it, which must suffice. I will in few words consider the second particular, namely, the interest which we have in the promises, which is hope: *We wait for* &c.

51. I know nothing more effectual to persuade me to search for and embrace Divine truth with singleness of heart, and without respect of persons, than to consider that there are no opinions so unreasonable, so directly contradictory to one another, but the spirit of contradiction and partiality will make a man easily to swallow and digest them: as for example, whereas the papists most presumptuously maintain, that it is in a man's power, by the ordinary assistance of grace, so exactly to perform all God's commandments, that he shall have no need to say, *Lord, forgive us our trespasses*; some of their adversaries strive so much to avoid this assertion on the contrary extreme, that they will not allow even the best and most holy actions of the most regenerate man to be such as God requires at our hands; they will not only have them to be imperfect, but sinful, nay, if strictly examined, sins. And yet for all this, they who put it in a man's power to fulfil all God's commandments, will not suffer any man to have any certainty of their salvation: on the contrary, the others, though they make a man's best actions to be sins, yet require at his hands an infallible, Divine faith of his salvation, not only as an attendant, but as the very nature and essence of that faith whereby he shall be justified.

52. It may be possible, that one of these parties might light upon the truth, if either of them would be willing to change one of his opinions with his adversary: but as they have been pleased to yoke such

jarring positions together, I am confidently persuaded that both of them have missed of the truth, and left it in the middle to any third person that will be willing to stand neuter in a mean betwixt them both. I will not now examine how far each side have outrun the truth contrary ways; only, as I am required by that part of my text which remains, I will lay down two assertions, participating, in some measure, of both opinions: the first whereof is this, (which I have already touched,) that no man can justly and reasonably expect or hope for the reward of righteousness, but he whose heart and conscience can unfeignedly witness unto him, that he hath, though not exactly, yet sincerely, and without hypocrisy, performed the conditions of the new covenant: the second, that the interest which such a person ordinarily hath in the promises is only hope.

53. Now concerning the first assertion, namely, that no man can justly &c., I would not now be mistaken, as if I said, that before a man can hope for salvation he must perform God's commandments exactly, but only according to the equity of the gospel; according to that famous saying of St. Augustine, *Retractat.* l. 1. c. 19. *Omnia mandata facta deputantur, quando quicquid non fit, ignoscitur.* Now, that a man may keep God's commandments, as far as the equity of the gospel expects from him, may, I think, be thus demonstrated: there is no man that hears me this day, I am persuaded, but he does often seriously desire of God, that he would give him the grace to do his will: now all prayer, if it be right, is to be performed in faith, i. e. with a full persuasion, not only that it is lawful and warrantable for him to desire that which he prays for, but also with as full a persuasion that Almighty God is not only able, but

ready and willing also to grant him his petitions; otherwise it is not only a vain, but a sinful prayer; it is a tempting of God, as if we should desire him to do that which we know is impossible. Besides, can we think that God would command us, (and withal add a promise of hearing and granting our petitions,) would he, I say, command us to pray for that which we are assured of beforehand cannot, and must not be granted? Therefore, certainly, some Christians have been heard in these petitions; some men have been found who have fulfilled the righteousness of the gospel.

54. Now till thou hast done this, which thou seest by the assistance of God's Spirit (which will never be wanting to them which desire it) it is possible for thee to do; nay, I will add further, it is easy for thee to do, (doth not Christ say as much? *My yoke is easy, and my burden is light,*) I say, till thou hast done this, thou canst have no reason in the world to hope for God's mercy. For tell me, why dost thou hope, thou that continuest still in an unrepentant estate, in an habitual opposition to God's holy commandments? Art thou resolved to hope, because thou hast a mind to it, upon no ground, when thou oughtest rather to fear, almost to despair? Or rather, canst thou persuade thyself in earnest that this is indeed a hope? Is it not a fancy of thine own brain, or rather a temptation of the Devil? *Hope, which is hope indeed,* which is not a fancy and chimera, *makes not ashamed,* saith St. Paul[e]; a man may with confidence, without confusion of face, profess and maintain it. But such a hope as this is, which is not a hope in earnest, how will it disgrace a man, and put him out of countenance, when God shall ask him why he did offer to hope?

55. Let thy conscience now answer me, whosoever

[e] Rom. v. 5.

thou art, in such a state. Thou that knowest how often God hath said, nay, sworn in his wrath, that none of those which continue disobedient shall enter into his rest! that none shall be partakers of the second resurrection unto glory, but those that have been partakers of the first unto grace! Canst thou, for all this, imagine, that God hath such a peculiar, particular affection and respect to thee, who art yet a slave of the Devil's, that he will be content to strain his truth and veracity, to break his oath for thy company? Shall the whole scripture, which promises glory to none but those who perform the conditions prescribed, for thy sake be turned into a romance, into a melancholy tale to fright children withal? No, no, assure thyself it is not a conceit of election which will save thee; thou must work, and work hard, in fear and trembling, before God will raise in thee the good spirit of Christian hope.

56. For to say the truth, of all Divine graces hope is incomparably the hardest to attain unto: and the reason is evident, because it presupposes the possession of all other graces before it. And yet for all this, nothing counted so easy nowadays as hope, though men both are and resolve to be never so wicked: nay, and it is well if hope will serve their turn, they must have an infallible assurance, a Divine faith of everlasting glory; and no manner of sins, though ever so heinous, ever so oft committed, shall be able to weaken this their assurance that they are resolved of. This they think is a spell strong enough for the Devil in all assails; when, God knows, the Devil is more joyed and comforted to see them so vainly delude themselves, than they themselves possibly can be. This for my first assertion: now follows the second.

57. When I say that the interest which a Christian

ordinarily has in the promises of God is hope, I mean, it is not absolute and irrespective, but depending upon conditions, namely, grace and perseverance therein. And this I took for granted, for I never heard of any yet that denied perseverance to be necessary to salvation. If then his interest be by hope, then it is not yet by faith, properly so called; for it is not possible that the same object (considered with the same circumstances at the same time) should be the object both of faith and hope. For example: I believe by a Divine faith, i. e. a faith grounded upon God's word, that there shall be a resurrection of the flesh, even of this flesh of mine, and I believe it firmly, because God hath said that he will bring it to pass; neither is there any condition of mine prerequired to the performance of this promise of God; for howsoever I behave myself here in this world, whether well or ill, it matters not, my behaviour cannot make God alter his resolution. Now if I assuredly believe this, it would be improper and absurd for me to say, I hope there will be a resurrection of my body; for when I say, I hope any thing, I imply a possibility in nature that such a thing may not be, which in this case I cannot do without infidelity.

58. But on the other side, I hope that God will raise this flesh of mine unto glory, and I hope this upon safe grounds: therefore if it be true that I hope it, I cannot properly be said to believe it, because my salvation yet depends upon conditions; namely, perseverance. Therefore let me propose this one question to any man's conscience: Hast thou such an assurance of salvation given thee of God, that hope is quite evacuated in thee? Is there no such virtue left in thee as hope? Surely God hath dealt extraordinarily mercifully with thee; thou art many degrees gone beyond

the state of those believers which St. Paul speaks of, and includes himself in the number, when he saith, *We live by hope;* for thou dost not live by hope, thou art exalted above it. Notwithstanding, I beseech you, consider well upon the matter, (for it concerns you very much,) be not too hasty to credit fancies, when conceits of assurance or impeccability shall be suggested to your minds. There may be great danger of confidence ungrounded; a confidence only taken upon trust from other men's words or opinions.

59. Do I go about now, think you, to bereave you, or cosen you of any spiritual comfort in this life? Do I envy any of you your assurance? Alas! why should I deal so with you? for I was never injured by you; or, if I were, surely of all places I would not make choice of this to execute my revenge in. Or, if I thought that such assurance were ordinarily to be had, at least necessary to the making up of a justifying faith, (and have you never heard it said so?) would I not, think you, strive and endeavour to obtain it at any rate, even with the loss of all worldly comforts? Yes, certainly, I would count them all but as dross and dung in comparison of it. But I confess unto you, I am yet contented with enjoying heaven by hope: and I bless Almighty God that he hath dealt so graciously with me, that I should dare to hope for it, and not be ashamed and confounded by my hope. And if there be any amongst you that will vouchsafe to content himself with such a neglected degree of comfort, with only hope, and no more, I will not enter into comparison with those that are perfect; but I dare promise him that all those troublesome pleasures, which do so ravish the men of this world, shall be as nothing; yea, as afflictions and torments, in comparison of those spiritual, heavenly joys, which hope, well and legally

achieved, will be able to afford us: no dangers will there be of terrors or jealousies, as if God would happen to grow weary, or repent himself of any grace or blessing which he hath bestowed upon us.

60. For tell me; do you think that Adam, while he continued in his innocency, had any grudgings of suspicions or fears? Was he not, during that time, in as great a quiet and serenity of mind as any of us dare hope for? and yet the most that he could do then, was to hope that he might continue in that state even to the end: the event shews he could not have an infallible faith of his perseverance. If then such a contented, settled mind could accompany Adam in paradise, even when he knew it was in his power, with but reaching out his hand, and tasting an apple, yea, with a sudden, wicked word, or an unsanctified thought, utterly, and irrecoverably to degrade himself from that happy estate; surely we Christians have much more reason to rejoice in our hope, since we know assuredly that as God has been so gracious to begin this good work in us, so he will not be wanting to perfect it even to the end, if we will but perform our parts, which he has already given us more than sufficient grace to do, and will never fail to supply us with more for the asking; nay more, (which are surer grounds to build upon than ever Adam had,) since we know that not one, nor ten, nor a hundred sins shall be able so irreparably to cast us out of God's favour, but that he will be willing, upon our repentance, especially calling to mind his old mercies, to restore us again to our lost happiness.

61. Neither are we utterly excluded from all assurance; for there is a πληροφορία τῆς ἐλπίδος, *a full assurance of hope*, saith St. Paul, Heb. vi. 11. *This hope we have as a sure anchor of the soul* fastened on

a rock, ibid. 19. The rock cannot fail us, the anchor will not; all the danger is in the cable or chain of spiritual graces, whereby we are fastened to this rock: if this chain but hold, no tempest, no winds, no floods can endanger us. And part of our hope respects this chain; for God has promised his willingness and readiness to strengthen it every day more and more, till our state shall be so changed, that there shall be no such things as tempests known, no tossings of waves, no tumults of winds, nor fear of leaking or decay in the vessel, but all calmness and security. And for the attaining to this happy unchangeable estate, where is it that we place our hope? *Truly our hope is even in thee, O God;* who, if thou shalt think it convenient or necessary for us, wilt enlarge this our hope into confidence, and add unto that, assurance, and swallow up all in possession: and that not for any merits of ours, but only for thy free undeserved mercies in our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, *in whom alone thou art well pleased:* to whom with thee, O Father, and the blessed Spirit, be ascribed by us, and thy whole church, the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON IX.

1 Cor. x. 13.

—God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able—

WHATEVER punishments befell the disobedient Israelites, who murmured, and tempted God in the wilderness, *they all happened unto them* (saith St. Paul[a]) *for ensamples unto us, and are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come.* This privilege we may have beyond our forefathers, that we may present before our eyes a larger series and history of God's providence, even since the foundation of the world; we may take a view and prospect of his constant, unaltered course of revenging himself upon sin, in whatsoever persons he finds it; and we ought from thence to collect, that whatsoever immunities and privileges we may conceive to ourselves, whatsoever comfortable errors we may take up upon trust, yet that God will not (for our sakes) begin a new frame of polity in the administration of the world; but that we also, unless we break off our sins by repentance and conversion unto God, we, I say, after the example of these murmuring Israelites; as those eighteen upon whom the tower of Siloe fell; as those Galileans whose blood Pilate mingled with their sacrifices; that *we also, unless we repent, shall all likewise perish.* Nay, certainly, we (upon whom the ends of the world are come) shall be much more culpable, our punishment and stripes shall be more in number, and weightier, if we (notwithstanding that larger experience which we may have of God's impartial dealing with sinners) shall yet

[a] 1 Cor. x. 6, 11.

promise to ourselves impunity; *if we shall say, We shall have peace, though we walk in the imaginations of our hearts.*

2. The same collection we may proportionably make, to our own benefit and advantage, from God's gracious dealing and behaviour to any of his beloved faithful servants; we may appropriate to ourselves all those blessings and promises which have been afforded unto them if our consciences can assure us that we do obey God's commandments in the truth and sincerity of our hearts. Now, for warrant to this kind of collection, instead of several examples in holy scripture, I will only make use of one taken out of, I think, this our apostle, where he saith, *Let your conversation be without covetousness; and be content with such things as you have: for God hath said, I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee*[b]. Which words by him quoted, as the margins of our Bibles will direct us, are to be found Josh. i. 5, and though they be a particular promise, which God immediately made to Joshua, thereby to encourage him after the death of Moses to take upon him the conducting of the Jews into the land of promise, assuring unto him a continuation of his extraordinary assistance in the enterprise; yet, notwithstanding, St. Paul, we see, (as if God had proclaimed this promise to the whole world,) applies these words to all the faithful among the Hebrews, and by the same proportion to all Christians likewise.

3. Upon which grounds I may as reasonably direct the words of this verse, out of which my text is taken, to you that now hear me, as the apostle does to the Corinthians, and say, *There hath no temptation taken you, but such as is common to man:* for certainly we will not imagine that the church or city of Corinth

[b] Heb. xiii. 5.

had any such extraordinary immunity or charter granted them, whereby they should be exempted from the danger of temptations above all the Christian world besides. Therefore let your memories recollect and examine the time past of your lives, and tell me, did there ever any temptation take hold of you, or assault you, so powerful and irresistible, that there was no way left for you but to be overcome by it? Take temptation now in what sense you please, either for a misfortune and affliction, or else for a suggestion to sin: was there ever any calamity, any loss, any pain, any sickness, so violent and impetuous, but that still you might perceive yourselves notwithstanding, (though perhaps in your outward man unequally matched by it,) yet in your spirits and minds, strong enough to conquer the malice thereof, and to convert it into wholesome physic? Again, was there ever any sinful temptation so strongly urged upon you, but that you might, by the assistance of that grace which God had already given you, or at the least, for the asking, would have superadded, you might easily have dulled and diverted the force thereof? did not your consciences, even after you were overcome by such a temptation, tell you, that it was mere voluntary cowardice in you, to suffer yourselves to be overcome by it? that you willingly surrendered and betrayed those forces which already God hath given you?

4. Now, though I am persuaded this to be so evidently true, that there is scarce any one here but his conscience will assure him as much; yet for all this, we must not begin hereupon to fancy in our minds any extraordinary worth or dignity in ourselves, as though by our own power or holiness we could work such wonders. No, alas! nothing less: for take away the assistance and guard of our auxiliary forces, God's free and

undeserved graces within us, and his Divine assistances, together with the guard of his blessed angels without us, and there is no temptation so weak and despicable which we should not suddenly yield unto; nay, we should need no outward tempters to help us to sin, our own wicked hearts would save the Devil that labour; for nothing is there so vile and abominable, whereunto, without God's restraining grace, we should not readily and impetuously hasten.

5. Therefore let us neither defraud God nor ourselves of their dues; but as we have spoken of the time past, so likewise of that which follows; if hereafter we shall overcome any temptation, (as certainly, by God's help, if we have but a mind to it, we may,) let us bless Almighty God for assisting us so far, let us give the glory and trophies of the conquest to him: but, on the contrary side, if we shall neglect to make use and advantage of those many helps against sin, which Almighty God is ready to supply unto us; if, notwithstanding those many promises of assistance so frequently set down in holy scripture; if, notwithstanding those many secret whisperings and inspirations of his holy Spirit in our souls; if, notwithstanding God's voice, which (as every day's experience can witness unto us) continually calls upon us, saying, *This is the right way, walk in it, and ye shall find rest to your souls;* we will yet continue to extinguish those good motions, to deafen and drown God's voice, and be ready to hearken unto and obey our own filthy lusts and vile affections; let us lay the fault where it is due, even upon our own deceitful, wicked hearts; or otherwise the time will come, when in hell we shall be evidently convinced thereof, when the worm of conscience, which never dieth, shall continually torment and gnaw us. *Let God be true,* and faithful in his promises, *and every*

man a liar. For as hitherto God has been so merciful to you, to preserve you, that *no temptation should take you, but such as is common to man;* so likewise for the time following, though perhaps greater trials may befall you than hitherto you have had experience of, yet of this you may be confident, that however they may seem grievous, yet the same God continues faithful and righteous to fulfil his promises; *He will never suffer you to be tempted above that you are able.*

6. Temptation is a thing of its own nature indifferent, and is rendered good or evil, from the end and intention of the tempter especially: it is nothing else but making a trial or experiment. If good, an assay, whether that good, which seems to be in a subject, be true and firmly grounded, or no: (so God may be said to tempt, as he did Abraham, &c. And this he performs, not to satisfy his curiosity, but merely out of a good inclination to the party; both hereby to confirm his graces in him, and to reward them with a greater measure of glory:) if evil, temptation is an assay, whether that good which seems to be in a man may not by some means or other be extinguished, and so the person destroyed: so the Devil is most properly called *the tempter.* And of this nature are the temptations of my text. Now these we find in holy scripture to be twofold: for either they are apt to draw us from good by way of discouragement, (so all manner of afflictions, misfortunes, persecutions, &c., are called *temptations,* because by these a man is inclinable to be frighted from, or at least discountenanced in, a holy conversation,) or else they allure us by way of invitation or solicitation to evil: so wicked, pleasing suggestions are said to be temptations, because these are fit to palliate the unloveliness and deformity of sin,

and thereby to make it desirable unto us. It would be but loss of time to heap together examples of holy scripture to make good this distinction, since it is an argument which you daily meet withal discoursed of in sermons.

7. But I confess I find it something difficult to determine, whether of these two senses, with exclusion of the other, be intended by St. Paul in my text: whether, when he says, *God will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able*, his meaning should be, God by his wisdom and providence will so contrive businesses for you, that though you are not likely to live in a continual, uninterrupted course of happiness and security, but that sometimes you shall dash your foot against a stone, you shall be disquieted and molested with afflictions of several natures; notwithstanding, this you may be confident of, that let what misfortune will come, how grievous and even insupportable soever it may seem unto you, it shall never be so violent and outrageous, but that God will provide a way for you to escape from it, there will be a door left open for you to avoid the furiousness and impetuousness of it: either God will arm you with patience to bear it, and then the comfort which your souls may feel in the consideration of what glorious rewards are promised unto your patience, shall make your afflictions even matters of rejoicing unto you; in which respect (as St. James saith) *you ought to count it all joy, when you fall into divers temptations*; or, if those temptations and afflictions reach so far as the destroying of your lives, yet, notwithstanding all this, they are so unable to make you miserable, unless you will take part with them against your own souls, by repining and murmuring under the mighty hand of God, that when you shall consider that blessed change

which death shall bring unto you, when all tears shall be wiped from your eyes, all fear and expectation of misery removed, nothing but inexpressible and everlasting joys to be expected, you shall bless the time that ever you were afflicted, and with St. Paul confess, *that the afflictions of this life are not worthy of that joy which shall be revealed.* This, I say, is a good catholic, orthodox sense, and which it is very probable that St. Paul might more directly intend in these words of my text.

8. Notwithstanding, I cannot exclude the other sense of the word *temptation* from this text; for according to the analogy of faith, and without any wrong done to the dependence and connection of these words, (*God will not suffer you to be tempted,* &c.) St. Paul's intent in them might be such, as if it had been thus spread out more at large: though considering the many disadvantages we have in the way of godliness, in respect both of our powerful, malicious, industrious, and subtle enemy the Devil, who continually waits upon us to entrap us; in respect of our seeming flattering friend, the world and vanities thereof, alluring us; but especially in respect of our own wicked and deceitful hearts, forward and desirous enough to embrace the wicked suggestions and temptations of both, nay, sufficient to destroy us without the assistance of either; I say, that though (these things considered) we may seem to be set, in the expression of the Holy Ghost, *upon slippery places,* where it is almost impossible for us to keep our footing, and to preserve ourselves from falling dangerously, and dashing ourselves in pieces:

9. Notwithstanding, if our eyes were opened, as were the eyes of the prophet Elisha's servant, we should find, as well as he, that *they that be with us*

are more than they that be against us for God and his holy angels, who are on our side, are both wiser and stronger than the Devil, and more willing to do us good than the other can be to hurt us. Besides, the expectations of those glorious rewards which are laid up in heaven for us, are sufficient, even to any reasonable man, to disrelish unto him the vain, unsatisfying pleasures of this world. And though our own hearts naturally be never so traitorous and unfaithful, yet by the power of that grace, which is plentifully showered down upon every one of us in our baptism, and which is daily increased and supplied unto us, they may easily be corrected and renewed. So that if the suggestion of any wicked temptation get the mastery over us, let us not impute too much to the valour and strength of our enemies; let us not accuse God of any unwillingness to succour us; for never any temptation hath, or ever shall happen unto us, but such as is ἀνθρώπινος, suitable unto the nature of man; such as a reasonable, considerate, and a circumspect man, by the ordinary assistance of God's grace, and careful application of those means wherewith we are abundantly furnished out of holy scripture, as prayer, watchfulness, fasting, and the like, may easily conquer and subdue.

10. This sense of these words may with as good reason and probability be supposed to be intended by St. Paul in this place, as the former. And indeed, unless we enlarge St. Paul's words to this meaning also, we shall receive no extraordinary comfort and encouragement from them: for though indeed it is true, that it is more than we can deserve at God's hands, to obtain a promise from him to secure us, that no temptations, no outward afflictions of this world, shall be so violent and furious upon us, as to

exceed the strength of reason and grace to withstand them; yet since sin is that only enemy, which is able to withdraw God's favour from us, and make him our enemy; unless we can be put in some hope, that there is a possible course for us to prevail against sin also, and all the dangerous temptations and suggestions thereof, we should live but an uncomfortable discontented life; we should be continually affrighted with sad, melancholic thoughts, with disquieting jealousies and fears, that however we may now and then please ourselves with conceits of God's favour for the present, yet since he has passed no promise of securing us for the future, it may happen that such a sinful temptation may come upon us, which may be able, do what we can, to overwhelm us irrecoverably. Therefore since this latter sense (which I mentioned of these words) is more profitable and advantageous to us, I will especially at this time insist upon it, and labour to demonstrate undeniably to every one of us, that *God is faithful*, and will assuredly make good that promise which he hath made unto us all, namely, *not to suffer us to be tempted*, that is, by any sinful temptation, *above that we are able*.

11. Now he is said to be tempted above that he is able, who, do what he can, though he strain his natural endowments to the uttermost, and though he endeavour heartily to make use of all the outward helps and assistances which he finds prescribed unto him out of God's word; though he extend that measure of grace, wherewith he is furnished, to the extremest activity thereof, to resist such a temptation; yet in the end is forced to yield to the power of it, utterly fainting and languishing in the combat. So, on the contrary, that man, who being completely furnished with all requisite weapons both for his own

defence, and encountering his adversary, and besides, having in him both ability of body, and courage enough, and yet out of a sleepy negligence, or obstinate sullenness, will not take the pains to lift up his arm, or otherways bestir himself to oppose his enemy; such a man, if overcome, can in no reason be said to be overmatched, but is a mere traitor to his own safety and reputation.

12. And indeed, before I can proceed any further, I must either take this for granted, that some men, though *de facto* they have been overcome by a temptation, yet might have resisted it by the assistances of that grace wherewith they were enabled; or truly I know not what to say. For if this be a good inference, A man is overcome by a temptation, therefore he could not possibly have resisted; Adam, for all he was seduced by the Devil, is not so culpable as I took him to be. How can I charge such a man for not doing his duty? how can I convince his conscience that it was his own fault and negligence that he did not that which he ought and might have done? Is there no man then to be found that could possibly have done no more good than actually he has done? Does every man improve that talent of grace, which God has given him, to the uttermost of his power and skill? or will any of you, when you confess your sins unto Almighty God, tell him to this purpose: Lord, I confess, I do daily fall into many and grievous sins; but, since they are gone and past, I perceive there was no remedy for it; it could not be avoided; those sins must needs have been practised by me; I did whatsoever I was enabled to do; if I had had more strength, I had done better; when thou bestowest on me more talents of grace, I shall be a more profitable servant, and yield thee a greater interest and advantage by them? If any of you entertain such

conceits as these, I confess you are a great deal more righteous than I thought you had been.

13. For mine own part, I confess with grief and shame and self-condemnation, that I have offended Almighty God in many respects, when I might have done otherwise. I have not only hid my talent in a napkin; I have not only not improved that stock of grace which God gave me; but, on the contrary, notwithstanding that, I have been very laborious and abounding in the unfruitful works of darkness. I have wilfully grieved the holy Spirit of God, and many times quenched his good motions in me. Yea, so voluntarily and resolvedly have I done all these sins, that I am persuaded I could easily have chose whether I would have committed them or no; no necessity at all lay upon me to compel me thereunto; God was faithful and righteous in his promises and dealings with me, and my own wicked heart deceived me. And I think all of you have been guilty in some measure of betraying and surrendering the abilities which God has bestowed on you, though I dare not charge you so deeply as myself.

14. Now that we have heard who may be said to be able to resist a temptation or not, for my more distinct proceeding in the confirmation of St. Paul's proposition in my text, I will take our Saviour's counsel, I will *sit down and examine, whether he that hath but ten thousand be able to meet him which cometh against him with twenty thousand.* Here are two enemies' camps, and no doubt great forces on both sides; but, without question, disproportionable: it concerns me therefore now, by taking a survey and muster of each, to demonstrate, that in all respects the advantage lies on our side. I mentioned before, briefly, that we had three especial enemies to deal with; the Devil, the

world, and the flesh. We will proceed in this order against them, in the first place examining the Devil's power, and the forces we have to oppose against him.

15. There are many terrible names, I confess, by which the Devil is described in holy writ: he is called Abaddon, and Ἀπολλύων, *the destroyer*, as one whose employment it were to counterwork against God, who calls himself *the Saviour and preserver of all men*. He is called *a ramping and a roaring lion, that runs about seeking whom he may devour*. He is called *the great dragon, the old serpent, the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the old world*[d]: all this in one verse. He is called *the red fiery dragon*. There are extant a great many more hideous pictures of him in God's word; but these will serve our turn sufficiently, to shew how dangerous an enemy we have, and therefore how great ought to be our resolution and wisdom in encountering with him. And lest we should think, since he is named in the forecited places in the singular number, that therefore there is but one lion, and but one fiery dragon, to deal with all mankind, and thereupon begin to be a little more secure; since we should have hard fortune, if it should light upon us to be singled out by him out of so infinite a crowd as the world is; God knows, it is so far from that, that there is an unutterable number of them, such an infinite, vast army, that one whole legion (which are near about 4000) were at leisure to possess one man: and St. Paul tells us, *We wrestle not against flesh and blood*[e], as if he should say, These worldly enemies are so weak and despicable, in comparison of those we are to meet withal, that they are not to be reckoned of: but, says he, *we wrestle against principalities and powers*, (there are, it seems, many principalities and powers,) *against*

[d] Rev. xii. 9. [e] Eph. vi. 12.

the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickednesses in high places: the word is, *in heavenly places.*

16. Now what have we to oppose against such an innumerable multitude of spirits, whereof each particular, for his excessive strength, is called *a lion;* for his fierceness, *a dragon;* for his poisonous malice, *a red dragon;* for the extreme intenseness of that poisonous malice, *a red fiery dragon;* and for his wisdom and cunning to make use of this strength, fierceness, and malice, he is called *the old serpent;* one that has been a serpent continually spitting out his poison against us, within very few days since any creature was: and therefore, if at the first, by his own natural wit, he was able upon even terms to overcome Adam, then innocent, and therefore not apt to betray himself, as we are, what may we conceive of him now after above 5000 years' experience? I say, what shall we, who are ready to fall into a swoon if we see but an apparition of one of them, though he do us no harm; how are we likely, think you, to behave ourselves in combat against so many thousands of them?

17. Why truly, God be thanked, notwithstanding all this, we may do well enough. For we have spiritual armies on our side too, that are able to contend with all these, and overcome them in all these advantages which they have against us. Are they many? Michael and his angels are more, certainly: which to me is evident by that saying in Daniel, where it is made an expression of God's glory and majesty, his innumerable multitude of attendants: the words are, *thousand thousands minister unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stand before him*[f]: which surely God would not have made choice of, as fit language to express his power

[f] Dan. vii. 10.

and glory, if the Devil had been able to contend with God, nay, and outvie him too in this article. Again, are they strong? These sure are stronger; for we read of one that slew an hundred fourscore and five thousand soldiers in one night. We never heard of such an exploit of the Devil's. Are they malicious against us? These are more loving and careful to do us good. And certainly, as God is stronger than the Devil, so likewise excessive goodness in the angels will easily prevail against extreme malice in the Devil. Now it is the nature of love to be willing to take any pains for the good of the person beloved; whereupon St. Paul, in that most Divine description of the three cardinal Christian virtues, thus expresseth them: *Remembering your work of faith, and labour of love, and patience of hope in our Lord Jesus Christ*[e]. I confess, it is the nature of malice too to be very laborious and observant of all advantages against the subject hated; but this must needs be granted, that love will conquer malice in the same degree.

18. Thus you see we are reasonably well befriended and backed by these our auxiliary forces of our guardian angels, so that we need not be disheartened if we had no more: but beyond all these, we have Almighty God to our friend, whose power is so unlimited, that without any straining of himself, without the bending of his bow, and drawing his sword, only with unclasping his hand, *subtractione manutenentiæ*, with mere letting hold go, all creatures in heaven and earth would return to nothing. He is, in the language of the Psalmist, *a sun and a shield*[f]; that is, in the phrase of another Psalm, *a light and defence*; *a sun* to discover unto us the secret ambushes and practices of our enemies, and *a shield* to protect us from their open force and violence.

[e] 1 Thess. i. 3. [f] Psalm lxxxiv. 11.

19. Ay, (will some man say,) there is no man can make any question of God's power; but the difficulty is, how shall we be sure of his good-will? If that were but once procured, the battle were as good as at an end. Why, for that we have recourse to God's word; there it is that we must find upon what terms businesses stand between him and us. And there certainly we shall find words, which at the first sight, to any ordinary reasonable man, would seem to make much for us. There are invitations to a league with him; desires and requests, as passionate as, I think, ever poet strained for. There are promises which look as if they were serious and unfeigned; they are confirmed with vows and solemn oaths of sincerity; and all these seemingly directed to every one of us. What can we desire more, especially from Almighty God, who stands in no need of our favour, and therefore is not likely to bespeak our good opinions of him with dissembling and lies?

20. Oh, but it is the easiest matter in the world for a man, with a school subtlety, by an almighty distinction, to cut off any man's right of entail to those promises; to appropriate them only to our own friends, to some two or three that he is pleased to favour. I would to God that men would but consider, what end, what project Almighty God should have in making his poor creatures believe he means well to them, when there is no such matter. *Would any of you,* saith our Saviour, *when his son shall ask him bread, give him a stone? or instead of a fish* to nourish him, *a serpent* to destroy him? *If then you (which are evil) know how to give good gifts,* if you would not have the heart to mock poor children after this manner, how much rather would not God! For God's sake therefore let there be but as much sincerity,

as much good nature in Almighty God, (I will not say as in yourselves, for it may be that would be too much for you to grant, but,) as our Saviour confesseth, that there was in the Jews that crucified him; and then we all of us have right enough to his promises; we shall have no reason to doubt of his good intention to help and assist us so far, that unless we delight in destruction, unless we will turn fugitives, unless we will fight on our enemies' side, all the devils in hell shall not be able to prevail against us. And thus much of the first squadrons, Michael and his angels opposed to the Devil and his angels.

21. The second enemy, which we professed hostility against in our baptism, was the vain temptations of this world; and so forcible and prevailing are the temptations thereof, that the Devil (who for his powerful managing of this weapon is called *the god of this world*) in his encounter with our Saviour, set up his rest upon it, as supposing, if this would not serve his turn, there were no more fighting for him: *All this will I give thee*, said he. And such a value he set upon this stake, that no less than the extremest degree of horrible idolatry could serve his turn to oppose against it: *All this will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me.* And when he saw that this proffer would not be accepted, he presently quits the field, despairing utterly of any success. The more dangerous indeed is this enemy, I may say, more dangerous to us than the Devil himself; because we all acknowledge the Devil in person to be our enemy; and therefore not one of us will be beholden to him for any thing, if he bring us the gift himself; a sick man would not be healed by him, nor a poor man made rich; but scarce one among a thousand has that opinion of the vain pomps and sinful pleasures of the

world. Our enemy! No certainly, it is the best and most comforting friend we have in this life; all our thoughts are taken up with it, it possesseth us at all times, we dream of it sleeping, and pursue it waking; and yet our Saviour saith, *Ye cannot serve God and mammon.* And again, *How can ye believe, who seek honour one of another?* And again, *If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him.* What strength then have we to oppose this enemy?

22. Why, surely, that which would suffice but an ordinary, reasonable man, and might serve any of us, but that we will needs be unreasonable only in things which concern our everlasting welfare; and that is, the consideration of those unspeakable joys, which shall attend those who can despise the unsatisfying, vain pleasures of this life. A philosopher, who but reading Plato's poetical description of the serenity of that life, which a virtuous soul, delivered from the prison of the body, lives, was so far transported with the conceit of it, though, for ought he knew, there was no such thing indeed; or if there were, perhaps never intended for him; that he becomes presently weary of this prison, and by a violent death frees himself from it; and God only knows what a change he found: whereas we have God's word for the certainty of that glorious life which his servants shall live; yea, a great deal of pains he hath taken to make it desirable and amiable unto us, by ransacking all the treasures of this world, the most costly jewels, the most precious metals, to embellish the description thereof withal. We have, besides, the experience of several men, who have seen and tasted as much of that glory as a mortal creature is capable of; St. Paul and St. John the divine. Surely the consideration hereof might serve our turn, if not quite to disrelish unto us,

and even to make us hate the vain pleasures of this world, yet at least not to prefer them, when they come in competition with the other: and I would to God we would suffer them but so far to prevail upon us. But I cannot stay.

23. I have ranked the three armies of our enemies just after the Roman fashion, reserving the triaries, the old experienced soldiers, to the last. For though in show the first rank of the devils appear more terrible, yet in very deed all their power is nothing, unless the lusts of our hearts take part with them, and give them advantage against us. The lusts of the flesh are those traitors which continually keep us company; we cannot be quit of them; without the Devil's assistance, they are able to captive us; what, think you, then, are they able to do, being managed by so powerful, so wise an enemy? Without them, all the powers of hell and darkness are insufficient to withdraw us from our obedience, and, by consequence, from the love and favour of God. For suppose the Devil (for example) present a lustful object to our fancy, as it were holding a lascivious picture before our eyes; if we consent not in our minds to any base delight in such a spectacle; if we settle not our thoughts upon it, as upon a pleasing sight; it will be so far from doing us any harm, that it will rather prove a means to root us more deeply in the favour of God, as persons unwilling to take pay of his and our enemies.

24. But alas! as we are ordinarily so far from this nobleness of mind, from this bravery of a Christian-like spirit, that, as if the Devil were too slow to object such temptations to us, we will not await his leisure, but on all occasions be ready and desirous to raise up, and then settle such unworthy thoughts in our minds; we will be content to spend many hours sometimes

in the acting of this inward, contemplative adultery. St. Paul, speaking of those lusts of our flesh, calls them our members, when he saith, Coloss. iii. 5, *Mortify your members which are on the earth; fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupisence,* &c. And indeed we, by our practice, make good the Apostle's expression; for we account ourselves as lame, imperfect creatures without them; we know not what to do with ourselves, especially when we are alone, unless we set ourselves on work this way, by acting to ourselves such filthy sins, which perhaps natural bashfulness, want of money or opportunity, will not suffer us to put in practice. What strength have we now to oppose to these most pernicious enemies, which are so closely cemented, and even incorporated within us, that they are become, as it were, flesh of our flesh, and bones of our bones?

25. Why surely, as naturally we have received this root of bitterness in our hearts, which is apt to give an infectious tincture to all the thoughts and actions issuing from thence; so likewise it hath pleased Almighty God to imprint a new principle in our minds, to plant, as it were, a new spirit in our souls; I mean that active, powerful grace, which, without any cooperation of our own, he infuses into us, especially in our baptism; and which is afterward ἀναζωπυρωμένον, strengthened and enlivened daily, by a constant, frequent exercising ourselves in the use of those manifold, blessed means of our salvation, the hearing, reading, and meditating on his holy word, and participation of his heavenly mysteries. For surely, if reason alone (by the help of those worthy, grave precepts, which are extant in the treatises of moral philosophy) hath been able to change many men from the habitual practice of several vices to a virtuous (I had like to have said

also a religious) life; why should any man think so meanly of God's holy word and sacraments, as to doubt but that much rather they should be able to make us *new creatures, to make us wise unto salvation*; especially considering that continual assistance of God's holy Spirit, which infallibly attends the use and exercise of those his blessed means? Do you think God is so favourable to the Devil or his instruments (our lusts) that he is unwilling to have them subdued and mortified in us? and if he be not unwilling, surely much less is he unable to perform this great work in us, even to the end.

26. Therefore, as before, speaking of those outward forces, God and his holy angels, which are ready to take our parts, and fight on our sides against the Devil and his angels, we applied that saying of Elisha to his servant, If thine eyes were opened, thou shouldst perceive, *that they which are with us, are more than they which are against us*; so likewise in the case in hand, we may make use of that saying of St. John, *Greater is he which is in you, than he which is in the world*; implying, that God is not only in himself stronger than the Devil, but also as considered in us, i. e. as working in our hearts by his grace: this way, I say, he is stronger than the Devil; his Spirit, cooperating with the means of our salvation, is more vigorous and powerful to renew us into the image of his holiness, if we will but do that which lies in our own power, than the Devil (though taking his advantage of that concupiscence, which in some measure is continually resident in us) is or can be to corrupt, and so to destroy us. For his power is not considerable, unless we be willing to join with him. Thus you see, though our enemies be allowed all the advantages they can challenge, yet in exact esteem, without any flatter-

ing of ourselves, we may conclude, that they who are ready and desirous to join forces with us, are greater, in all respects, than they which are against us.

27. But yet for all this, since the conducting and managing of those forces is left to our discretion, (for God will not fight single against the Devil in our behalf, unless we lend him our aid and assistance,) and therefore, Judges v. 23, *Curse ye Meroz, saith the angel of the Lord,* (in the victorious song of Deborah,) *curse bitterly the inhabitants thereof:* and why must poor Meroz be so bitterly cursed? *Because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty.* Hereupon it may seem that Almighty God will not put to his strength in our defence, unless we join with him; he will not be our champion to fight, whilst we sit still, only spectators of the combat. And therefore this consideration alone may be sufficient to abate that confidence, which the foregoing discourse might be apt to raise in us, especially if we be not utter strangers to ourselves, if we be not ignorant of our own weakness.

28. For satisfaction therefore to this discouragement, I will now endeavour to demonstrate by proofs drawn from undeniable reason and experience, that there is no sinful temptation so strong, but that an ordinary Christian may (by the assistance before mentioned) easily conquer it. And lest my proceeding herein may lie open to any manner of exception, let me choose from among you the weakest, most unexperienced Christian, I dare oppose this man against the sharpest and most furious temptation; and will make him confess, that though he be *de facto* subdued by it, yet that that came to pass merely by his own voluntary and affected unwatchfulness and cowardice, and that it was truly, in very deed, in his power to have resisted it. I will

make choice to instance in the sin of uncleanness and fornication; a sin, that generally finds such excuse and patronage in the world, because it is supposed to be so naturally born and bred up with us, that there is no shaking it off; it is a sin so resolved upon to be unconquerable, that few men go about to restrain it. The ancient antidotes against this sin, watching and fasting, are grown out of use with us; we conclude they will do us little good against this hereditary evil, and therefore the best way is to give them clean over.

29. Yet I say, let me suppose an ordinary Christian, environed with all the strongest temptations to this so natural, and therefore concluded so excusable a sin; let him have the most charming beauty, that has the most artificial ways of solicitation, together with opportunity, and all circumstances which are not fit to be supposed here; yet for all this, if that man should say he is not able to resist such a temptation, he lies against his own soul: for if at that instant a sudden message should interrupt him, a threatening of death, if he did not free himself from the danger of her filthy embraces; would he not do it? I desire only, that each one of you in his heart would answer for him. Then it is clear, he is able to resist this pretended irresistible temptation: and why should not the consideration of the danger of eternal torments be as persuasive against any sin, as the fear of a momentary death? But I will not make my advantage of so frightful an enemy to his pleasure as death. Suppose in all those circumstances beforementioned a good sum of money were but offered him, upon condition he would abstain but that time from the execution of his filthy lust; I doubt not at all but that upon these terms he would find strength enough to conquer this temptation. Shall Satan then

be able to cast out Satan, and shall not God much more do it? shall one sin be able to destroy the exercise of another, and shall not grace much rather?

30. Besides, if we believe that generally it is not in our power to resist any of these temptations; how dare you, who are fathers, suffer your daughters, after they are come to years, to live unmarried? how dare you expose their souls to such dangers, unless you think that ordinarily any man or woman is able to resist the temptations of the flesh? how dare you, who are merchants, for the hope of a little gain, live in foreign countries, as if you were divorced from your wives; if you religiously think that were it not for the benefit of marriage they could not ordinarily be honest?

31. Lastly, you may remember, that our Saviour (in his descriptions of hell) seldom leaves out this phrase, *where the worm dieth not;* which worm is generally by interpreters moralized into the sting of conscience, i. e. a continual vexation of soul in the reprobates, caused by the consideration, how it was merely their own fault, their wilful folly, which brought them to that misery. Now this worm would die, and be quite extinguished in them, if they were of some men's opinions; that the reason why they sinned was not because they would sin, but because they could not choose but to do it; because they wanted power to resist all the temptations which were objected to them. Such a conceit may serve indeed to vex them, but it is not possible it should trouble their conscience; for by this reason Corah, Dathan, and Abiram might with as good reason be tormented in conscience for falling into hell, when the earth opened under them, as for their sin of rebellion against Moses; if the reason why they committed that sin was the subtraction of divine grace

and assistance, without which it was impossible for them not to be rebels. But indeed, why should Almighty God withdraw his grace from any man? Because (say some) by falling, they may experimentally learn their own weakness without his assistance, and so be discouraged from trusting or relying upon themselves. A strange reason no doubt: for as long as they have the grace of God, they will not rely upon themselves; and when they are destitute of his grace, they cannot rely upon him: so that it seems God takes away his grace from a man for this end, that wanting it, he may sin; and by that means, when he has got that grace again, he may perceive, that when he is destitute of God's grace, he cannot choose but sin; which was a thing which he knew at the first, without all this ado. But there may be a better reason given why God should take away his grace from a man; and that is, because he negligently omits to make his best use of it, and so deserves that punishment. But this reason will satisfy as little as the former: for suppose, for example, a man at this instant in the state of grace, and so in the favour of God: upon these grounds, it is impossible that this man should ever sin; for surely God will not undeservedly take away his grace from him, till he merit that punishment by his sin; and till God take away his grace from him, he cannot sin; therefore he must never sin. But this discourse, though it merely concern practice, looks so like a controversy, that I am weary of it.

32. We are apt enough to slander God with too much mercy sometimes, as if he bore us so particular an affection, that notwithstanding our never so many sins, yet he will still be merciful unto us. Oh that we could conceive of his mercy and goodness aright! as rather willing to prevent our sins, by giving us suffi-

cient preservatives against the committing them. I would to God, that instead of making subtle, scholastical disputes of the power and efficacy of God's grace, we would magnify the force thereof, by suffering it to exercise its sway in our lives and conversation; we should then easily find, that *we are able to do all things through Christ that strengtheneth us.*

END OF THE SERMONS.

ADDITIONAL DISCOURSES.

I. *A Conference betwixt Mr. Chillingworth and Mr. Lewgar.*

Thesis. THE church of Rome (taken diffusively for all Christians communicating with the bishop of Rome) was the judge of controversies at that time, when the church of England made an alteration in her tenets.

Argu. She was the judge of controversies at that time, which had an authority of deciding them: but the church of Rome at that time had the authority of deciding them: *ergo.*

Answ. A limited authority to decide controversies according to the rule of scripture and universal tradition, and to oblige her own members (so long as she evidently contradicted not that rule) to obedience, I grant she had; but an unlimited, an infallible authority, or such as could not but proceed according to that rule, and such as should bind all the churches in the world to obedience, (as the Greek church,) I say she had not.

Quest. When our church hath decided a controversy, I desire to know whether any particular church or person hath authority to reexamine her decision, whether she hath observed her rule or no; and free themselves from the obedience of it by their particula judgment?

Answ. If you understand by your church the church

catholic, probably I should answer, No; but if you understand by your church, that only which is in subordination to the see of Rome, or if you understand a council of this church, I answer, Yea.

Argu. That was the catholic church which did abide in the root of apostolic unity: but the church of Rome at that time was the only church that did abide in the root of apostolic unity: *ergo.*

Quest. What mean you by apostolic unity?

Answ. I mean the unity of that fellowship wherein the apostles lived and died.

Quest. Wherein was this unity?

Answ. Herein it consisted, that they all professed one faith, obeyed one supreme tribunal, and communicated together in the same prayers and sacraments.

Solut. Then the church of Rome continued not in this apostolic unity; for it continued not in the same faith wherein the apostles lived and died: for though it retained so much (in my judgment) as was essential to the being of a church, yet it degenerated from the church of the apostles' times, in many things which were very profitable; as in Latin service, and communion in one kind.

Argu. Some church did continue in the same faith wherein the apostles lived and died: but there was no church at that time which did continue in the apostles' faith, besides the Roman church: *ergo.*

Answ. That some church did continue in the apostles' faith in all things necessary, I grant it; that any did continue in the integrity of it, and in a perfect conformity with it in all things expedient and profitable, I deny it.

Quest. Is it not necessary to a church's continuing in the apostles' faith, that she continue in a perfect con-

formity with it in all things expedient and profitable?

Answ. A perfect conformity in all things is necessary to a perfect continuance in the apostles' faith; but to an imperfect continuance an imperfect conformity is sufficient; and such, I grant, the Roman church had.

Quest. Is not a perfect continuance in the apostles' faith necessary to a church's continuance in the apostolic unity?

Answ. It is necessary to a perfect continuance in apostolic unity.

Argu. There were some one company of Christians at the time of Luther's rising, which was the catholic church: but there was no other company at that time, besides the Roman: *ergo*, the Roman at that time was the catholic church.

Answ. There was no one company of Christians, which, in opposition to and exclusion of all other companies of Christians, was the Catholic church.

Argu. If the catholic church be some one company of Christians in opposition to and exclusion of all other companies, then if there was some one company, she was one in opposition to, and exclusion of all other companies: but the catholic church is one company of Christians in opposition to and exclusion of, &c.: *ergo*, there was then some one company which was the catholic church, in opposition to and exclusion of all other companies.

The minor is proved by the testimonies of the Fathers, both Greek and Latin, testifying that they understood the church to be *one* in the sense alleged.

1. If this unity, which cannot be separated at all or divided, is also among heretics, what contend we fur-

ther? Why call we them heretics? S. Cypr. Epist. 75.

2. But if there be but one flock, how can he be accounted of the flock, which is not within the number of it? *Id. ibid.*

3. When Parmenian commends one church, he condemns all the rest; for besides one, which is the true catholic, other churches are esteemed to be among heretics, but are not. *S. Optat.* lib. 1.

4. The church therefore is but one: this cannot be among all heretics and schismatics. *Ibid.*

5. You say you offer for the church, which is one: this very thing is part of a lie, to call it one, which you have divided into two. *Id. ibid.*

6. The church is one, which cannot be amongst us and amongst you; it remains then, that it be in one only place. *Id. ibid.*

7. Although there be many heresies of Christians, and that all would be called catholics, yet there is always one church, &c. *S. Aug. De Util. Credend.* c. 7.

8. The question between us is, where the church is; whether with us or with them? for she is but one. *Id. De Unitat.* c. 2.

9. The proofs of the catholics prevailed, whereby they evicted the body of Christ to be with them, and by consequence not to be with the Donatists; for it is manifest that she is one alone. *Id. Collat. Carthag.* lib. 3.

10. *In illud Cantic.* vi. 7. "There are sixty queens, and eighty concubines, and damsels without number; but my dove is one," &c. He said not, "my queens are sixty, and my concubines," &c. but he said, "my dove is but one;" because all the sects of philosophers

and heresies of Christians are none of his; his is but one, to wit, the catholic church, &c. *S. Epiphan. in fine Panar.*

11. A man may not call the conventicles of heretics (I mean Marcionites, Manichees, and the rest) *churches;* therefore the tradition appoints you to say, "I believe one holy catholic church," &c.—*S. Cyril. Catech.* 18.

And these testimonies, I think, are sufficient to shew the judgment of the ancient church, that this title of the church *one,* is directly and properly exclusive to all companies besides one; to wit, that where there are divers professions of faith, or divers communions, there is but one of these which can be the catholic church. Upon this ground I desire some company of Christians to be named, professing a diverse faith, and holding a diverse communion from the Roman, which was the catholic church at the time of Luther's rising: and if no other in this sense can be named, then was she the catholic church at that time; and therefore her judgment to be rested in, and her communion to be embraced, upon peril of schism and heresy.

Mr. Chillingworth's Answer.

Upon the same ground, if you pleased, you might desire a protestant to name some company of Christians, professing a diverse faith, and holding a diverse communion from the Greek church, which was the catholic church at the time of Luther's rising; and seeing he could name no other in this sense, conclude, that the Greek church was the catholic church at that time. Upon the very same grounds you might have concluded for the church of the Abyssines or Armenians, or any other society of Christians extant before

Luther's time. And seeing this is so, thus I argue against your ground:

1. That ground which concludes indifferently for both parts of a contradiction, must needs be false and deceitful, and conclude for neither part: but this ground concludes indifferently for both parts of a contradiction; viz. that the Greek church is the catholic church, and not the Roman; as well as, that the Roman is the catholic church, and not the Greek: therefore the ground is false and deceitful, seem it never so plausible.

2. I answer, secondly, that you should have taken notice of my answer, which I then gave you; which was, that your major, as you then framed your argument, but as now, your minor, is not always true, if by *one* you understand one in external communion; seeing nothing hindered, in my judgment, but that one church excommunicated by another upon an insufficient cause, might yet remain a true member of the catholic church; and that church, which, upon the overvaluing this cause, doth excommunicate the other, though in fault, may yet remain a member of the catholic church; which is evident from the difference about Easter day between the church of Rome and the churches of Asia; for which vain matter, Victor, bishop of Rome, excommunicated the churches of Asia. And yet I believe you will not say that either the church excommunicating, or the church excommunicated, ceased to be a true member of the church catholic. The case is the same between the Greek and the Roman church; for though the difference between them be greater, yet it is not so great as to be a sufficient ground of excommunication; and therefore the excommunication was causeless, and conse-

quently *brutum fulmen*, and not ratified or confirmed by God in heaven: and therefore the church of Greece, at Luther's rising, might be and was a true member of the catholic church.

As concerning the places of Fathers which you allege; I demand, 1. If I can produce you an equal or greater number of Fathers, or more ancient than these, not contradicted by any that lived with them or before them, for some doctrine condemned by the Roman church, whether you will subscribe it? If not, with what face or conscience can you make use of, and build your whole faith upon, the authority of Fathers in some things, and reject the same authority in others?

2. Because you urge St. Cyprian's authority, I desire you to tell me, whether this argument in his time would have concluded a necessity of resting in the judgment of the Roman church or no? If not, how should it come to pass that it should serve now, and not then; fit this time, and not that? as if it were like an almanack, that would not serve for all meridians? If it would, why was it not urged by others upon St. Cyprian, or represented by St. Cyprian to himself for his direction, when he differed from the Roman church, and all other that herein conformed unto her, touching the point of rebaptizing heretics, which the Roman church held unlawful and damnable; St. Cyprian not only lawful, but necessary; so well did he rest in the judgment of that church: *Quid verba audiam, cum facta videam?* says he in the comedy. And cardinal Perron tells you in his epistle to Casaubon, that nothing is more unreasonable than to draw consequences from the words of Fathers against their lively and actual practice.

The same may be said in refutation of the places out of St. Austin; who was so far from concluding from them, or any other, a necessity of resting in the judgment of the Roman church, that he himself, as your authors testify, lived and died in opposition of it; even of that main, fundamental point, upon which Mr. Lewgar hath built the necessity of his departure from the church of England, and embracing the communion of the Roman church; that is, the supreme authority of that church over other churches, and the power of receiving appeals from them. Mr. Lewgar, I know, cannot be ignorant of these things; and therefore I wonder with what conscience he can produce their words against us, whose actions are for us.

If it be said that St. Cyprian and St. Austin were schismatics for doing so; it seems then schismatics may not only be members of the church, against Mr. Lewgar's main conclusion, but canonized saints of it; or else St. Austin and St. Cyprian should be razed out of the Roman calendar.

If it be said that the point of rebaptization was not defined in St. Cyprian's time; I say, that in the judgment of the bishop and church of Rome, and their adherents, it was: for they urged it as an original and apostolic tradition, and consequently at least of as great force as any church definition. They excommunicated Firmilianus, and condemned St. Cyprian as a false Christ and a false apostle, for holding the contrary; and urged him *tyrannico terrore* to conform his judgment to theirs, as he himself clearly intimates.

If it be said, they differed only from the particular church of Rome, and not from the Roman church, taking it for the universal society of Christians in communion with that church; I answer,

1. They knew no such sense of the word, I am sure

never used it in any such; which whether it had been possible, if the church of Rome had been, in their judgment, to other churches in spiritual matters, as the city was to other cities and countries in temporals, I leave it to indifferent men to judge.

2. Secondly, that they differed not only from the particular Roman church, but also from all other churches that agreed with it in those doctrines.

3. Thirdly, I desire you would answer me directly, whether the Roman church, taking it for that particular church, be of necessity to be held infallible in faith by every Roman catholic, or not. To this question I instantly desire a direct answer without tergiversation, that we may at length get out of the cloud, and you may say, *Coram, quem quæritis, adsum.* If you say they are not bound to believe so, then it is no article of faith, nor any certain truth, upon which men may safely rest without fluctuation or fear of error: and if so, I demand,

1. Why are all your clergy bound to swear, and consequently your laity, (if they have communion of faith with them,) by your own grounds, bound to believe, that the Roman church is the mistress of all other churches? Where it is evident, from the relation and opposition of the Roman to other churches, that the Roman church is there taken for that particular church.

2. Secondly, Why then do you so often urge that mistaken saying of Irenæus, *Ad hanc ecclesiam necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam?* falsely translating it, as cardinal Perron in French, and my L. F. in English—"All churches must agree with this church?" for *convenire ad* signifies not, to *agree with*, but to *come unto;* whereas it is evident, for the aforesaid reason, that the Roman is here taken for that particular church.

3. Thirdly, If that particular church be not certainly infallible, but subject to error in points of faith; I would know, if any division of your church should happen, in which the church of Rome, either alone or with some others, should take one way, the churches of Spain, and France, and many other churches, another, what direction should an ignorant catholic have then from the pretended guide of faith? how shall he know which of these companies is the church, seeing all other churches, distinguished from the Roman, may err, and seeing the Roman church is now supposed subject to error, and consequently not certain to guard those men or those churches that adhere unto it from erring?

4. Fourthly, If that particular church be not infallible in faith, let us then suppose that *de facto* it does err in faith; shall we not then have an heretical head upon a catholic body? a head of the church, which were no member of the church? Which sure were a very strange and heterogeneous monster! If to avoid these inconveniences you will say, that Roman catholics must of necessity hold that particular church infallible in faith; I suppose it will evidently follow, that St. Austin and St. Cyprian (notwithstanding those sentences you pretend out of them) were no Roman catholics, seeing they lived and died in the contrary belief and profession. Let me see these absurdities fairly and clearly avoided, and I will dispute no more, but follow you whithersoever you shall lead.

3. Thirdly, I answer, that the places alleged are utterly impertinent to the conclusion you should have proved; which was, that it was impossible that two societies of Christians, divided upon what cause soever in external communion, may be in truth, and in God's

account, both of them parts of the catholic church: whereas your testimonies, if we grant them all, say no more than this; that the societies of heretics, which are such as overthrow any doctrine necessary so salvation; and of schismatics, which are such as separate from the church's communion without any pretence of error in the church, or unlawfulness in the conditions of her communion; I say, they prove only this, that such societies as these are no parts of the church: which I willingly grant of all such as are properly and formally heretics and schismatics; from which number I think (with St. Austin) they are to be exempted, *qui quærunt cauta solicitudine veritatem, corrigi parati, cum invenerint.* Whereas I put the case of such two societies, which not differing indeed in any thing necessary to salvation, do yet erroneously believe that the errors wherewith they charge one another are damnable; and so, by this opinion of mutual error, are kept on both sides from being heretics.

Because I desire to bring you and others to the truth, or to be brought to it by you, I thought good, for your direction in your intended reply, to acquaint you with these things:

1. That I conceive the rule in your discourse is this: that whensoever any two societies of Christians differ in external communion, one of them must be of necessity heretical or schismatical. I conceive there is no such necessity; and that the stories of Victor, and the bishops of Asia, St. Cyprian, and pope Stephen, make it evident; and therefore I desire you to produce some convincing argument to the contrary; and that you may the better do it, I thought good to inform you what I mean by an heretic, and what by a schismatic.

An heretic therefore I conceive him that holds an

error against faith with obstinacy. Obstinate I conceive him, who will not change his opinion, when his reasons for it are so answered, that he cannot reply; and when the reasons against it are so convincing, that he cannot answer them. By *the faith*, I understand all those doctrines, and no more, which Christ taught his apostles, and the apostles the church; yet I exclude not from this number the certain and evident deductions of them.

A schismatic I account him, (and Facundus Hermianensis hath taught me to do so,) who, without any supposition of error in the conditions of a church's communion, divides himself either from the obedience of that church to which he owes obedience, or from the communion of that church to which he owes communion.

2. Another thing which I thought fit to acquaint you with is this: that you go upon another very false and deceitful supposition; viz. that if we will not be protestants, presently we must be papists; if we forsake the church of England, we must go presently to the church of Rome: whereas if your arguments did conclude (as they do not) that before Luther's time there was some church of one denomination which was the catholic church, I should much rather think it were the church of Grecce than the church of Rome; and I believe others also would think so as well as I, but for that reason which one gives, why more men hold the pope above a council, than a council above a pope; that is, because councils give no maintenance or preferment, and the popes do.

Think not yet, I pray, that I say this, as if I conceived this to be your reason for preferring the Roman church before the Greek (for I protest I do not); but rather, that conceiving verily you were to leave the

church of England to avoid trouble, you took the next boat, and went to the church of Rome, because that bespoke you first.

You impute to me (as I hear) that the way I take is destructive only, and that I build nothing: which, first, is not a fault, for Christian religion is not now to be built; but only I desire to have the rubbish and impertinent lumber taken off, which you have laid upon it, which hides the glorious simplicity of it from them which otherwise would embrace it. Remember, I pray, Averroe's saying, *Quandoquidem Christiani adorant quod comedunt, sit anima mea cum philosophis;* and consider the swarms of atheists in Italy, and then tell me whether your unreasonable and contradictious doctrines, your forged miracles, and counterfeit legends, have not in all probability produced this effect. Secondly, if it be a fault, it is certainly your own; for your discourse, intended for the proof of a positive conclusion—that we must be papists—proves, in deed and in truth, nothing, but even in show and appearance no more but this negative—that we must not be protestants. But what we must be, if we must not be protestants, God knows: you in this discourse, I am sure, do not shew it.

Mr. Lewgar's Reply.

§. 1. The minor of Mr. Chillingworth's argument against my ground is very weak, being framed upon a false supposition, that a protestant could name no other church professing a diverse faith, &c. from the Greek church, which was the catholic church; for if he could not indeed name any other, the title would remain to the Greek church; but he hath the Roman to name; and so my ground cannot conclude either for the Greek, or Abyssine, or any other besides the

Roman; but for that it does, except he can name some other.

§. 2. His second answer is weak likewise; for my minor is always true; at least they thought it to be so whose authorities I produce in confirmation of it, as will appear to any one that considers them well, how their force lies *in thesi*, not *in hypothesi*; not that the church was not then divided into more societies than one, but that she could never be.

§. 3. As for his instance to the contrary, wherein he believes I will not say the churches excommunicated by Victor ceased to be true members of the catholic; if I say so, I say no more than the ancient Fathers said before me; Irenæus, when he desired Victor, μὴ προκόπτειν, not to cut off so many and great churches; and Ruffinus, *Reprehendit eum, quod non bene fecisset abscindere ab unitate corporis*, &c.

§. 4. But howsoever the case of excommunication may be, the division of external communion, which I intended, and the Fathers spake of in the alleged authorities, was that which was made by voluntary separation.

§. 5. Whereby the church (before one society) is divided into several distinct societies, both claiming to be the church; of which societies, so divided, but one can be the catholic; and this is proved by the authorities alleged; which authorities must not be answered by disproving them, as he does, (for that is to change his adversary, and confute the Fathers' sayings instead of mine,) but by shewing their true sense or judgment to be otherwise than I alleged it.

§. 6. To his demand upon the places alleged, I answer, that I do not build my whole faith of this conclusion upon the authority of those Fathers; for I produce them, not for the authority of the thing, but of

the exposition. The thing itself is an article of the Creed, *unam catholicam*, grounded in express scripture, *Columba mea unica.* But because there is difference in understanding this prophecy, I produce these authorities to shew the judgment of the ancient church, how they understood it; and the proper answer to this is, either to shew that these words were not there, or at least this meaning, and to shew their meaning out of other places more pregnant.

§. 7. And I promise, that whensoever as equal a consent of Fathers can be shewed for any thing, as I can shew for this, I will believe it as firmly as I do this.

§. 8. But this is not the answerer's part, to propound doubts and difficulties, but to satisfy the proof objected.

§. 9. And if this course be any more taken, I will save myself all further labour in a business so likely to be endless.

§. 10. His second answer to the places is wholly impertinent; for therein would he disprove them from teaching a necessity of resting in the judgment of the Roman church; whereas I produced them only to shew, that among several societies of Christians, only one can be the catholic; and against this his second answer says nothing.

§. 11. In his third answer he makes some show of reply to the authorities themselves, but he commits a double error: one, that he imposes upon me a wrong conclusion to be proved; as will appear by comparing my conclusion in my paper with the conclusion he would appoint me.

§. 12. Another, that he imposes upon the authorities a wrong interpretation, no way grounded in the words themselves, nor in the places whence they were taken,

nor in any other places of the same Fathers, but merely forged out of his own brain. For first, the places do not only say, that the societies of heretics and schismatics are no part of the church, but that the church cannot be divided into more societies than one; and they account societies divided which are either of a diverse faith or a diverse communion. Neither do they define heretics or schismatics in that manner as he does.

§. 13. For an heretic, in their language, is he that opposeth pertinaciously the common faith of the church; and a schismatic, he that separates from the catholic communion, never making any mention at all of the cause.

§. 14. And if his definition of a schismatic may stand, then certainly there was no schismatic ever in the world, nor are there any at this day; for none did, none does separate, without some pretence of error or unlawfulness in the conditions of the church's communion.

§. 15. And so I expect both a fuller and directer answer to my argument, without excursions, or diversions into any other matter, till the judgment of antiquity be cleared in this point.

Mr. Chillingworth's Answer.

Ad §. 1. The minor of my argument, you say, is very weak, being grounded upon a false supposition, that a protestant could name no other church professing a diverse faith from the Greek, which was the catholic church; and your reason is, because he might name the Roman. But in earnest, Mr. Lewgar, do you think that a protestant, remaining a protestant, can esteem the Roman church to be the catholic church? Or do you think to put tricks upon us, with taking your proposition one while *in sensu composito*, another

while *in sensu diviso?* For if your meaning was, that a protestant, not remaining, but ceasing to be a protestant, might name the Roman for the catholic; so I say also to your discourse, that a protestant, ceasing to be a protestant, might name the Greek to be the catholic church; and if there were any necessity to find out one church of one denomination, as the Greek, the Roman, the Abyssine, which one must be the catholic; I see no reason but he might pitch upon the Greek church as well as the Roman; I am sure your discourse proves nothing to the contrary. In short, this I say, if a Grecian should go about to prove to a protestant that his church is the catholic, by saying (as you do for the Roman) some one was so before Luther, and you can name no other, therefore ours is so; whatsoever may be answered to him may be answered to you. For as you say, a protestant, ceasing to be a protestant, may name to him the Roman; so I say, a protestant, ceasing to be a protestant, may name to you the Grecian. If you say, a protestant, remaining a protestant, can name no other but the Roman for the catholic; I may (very ridiculously I confess, but yet as truly) say, he can name no other but the Grecian. If you say, he cannot name the Greek church neither, remaining a protestant; I say likewise, neither, remaining a protestant, can he name the Roman for the catholic. So the argument is equal in all respects on both sides; and therefore either concludes for both parts, (which is impossible, for then contradictions should be both true,) or else (which is certain) it concludes for neither. And therefore I say your ground you build on, that before Luther some church of one denomination was the catholic, (if it were true, as it is most false,) would not prove your intent. It would destroy, perhaps, our church, but it would not build yours. It would prove, peradventure, that we

must not be protestants, but it will be far from proving that we must be papists: for after we have left being protestants, (I tell you again, that you may not mistake, there is yet no necessity of being papists; no more than if I go out of England there is a necessity of going to Rome. And thus much to shew the poorness of your ground, if it were true. Now in the second place, I say it is false; neither have you proved any thing to the contrary.

Ad §. 2. You say, the authorities you have produced shew to any that consider them well, that the church could never be divided into more societies than one; and you mean, I hope, one in external communion, or else you dally in ambiguities: and then I say, I have well considered the alleged authorities, and they appear to me to say no such thing; but only, that the societies of heretics and schismatics are no true members of the church: whereas I put the case of two such societies, which were divided in external communion by reason of some overvalued difference between them, and yet were neither of them heretical or schismatical. To this I know you could not answer, but only by saying, that this supposition was impossible; viz. that of two societies divided in external communion, neither should be heretical nor schismatical; and therefore I desired you to prove by one convincing argument that this is impossible. This you have not done, nor, I believe, can do; and therefore all your places fall short of your intended conclusion; and if you would put them into syllogistical form, you should presently see you conclude from them sophistically in that fallacy which is called, *a dicto secundum quid, ad dictum simpliciter.* Thus: No two divided societies, whereof one is heretical or schismatical, can be both members of the catholic church; therefore simply no two divided societies can

be so. The antecedent I grant, which is all that your places say, as you shall see anon; but the consequence is sophistical, and therefore that I deny: it is no better nor worse, than if you should argue thus: No two divided societies, whereof one is outlawed and in rebellion, are both members of the same commonwealth; therefore simply no two divided societies &c.

But against this you pretend, that the alleged places say not only, that the societies of heretics and schismatics are no parts of the church, but that the church cannot be divided into more societies than one; and they account societies divided which are either of a diverse faith or of a diverse communion. This is that which I would have proved, but as yet I cannot see it done. There be eleven quotations in all: seven of them speak expressly and formally of division made by heretics and schismatics, viz. 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11: three other of them, (viz. 5, 6, 8,) though they use not the word, yet Mr. Lewgar knows they speak of the Donatists, which were schismatics; and that by the relative particles *you* and *them* are meant the Donatists. And lastly, the second, Mr. Lewgar knows, says nothing but this—that an heretic cannot be accounted of that one flock which is the church.

But to make the most of them that can be: the first saith, the unity of the church cannot be separated at all, nor divided. This I grant; but then I say every difference does not in the sight of God divide this unity: for then diversity of opinions should do it; and so the Jesuits and Dominicans would be no longer members of the same church. Or if every difference will not do it, why must it of necessity be always done by difference in communion, upon an insufficient ground, yet mistaken for sufficient? for such only I speak of. Sure I am, this place says no such matter. The next place

says, the flock is but one; and all the rest, that the church is but one; and that heretics and schismatics are not of it: which certainly was not the thing to be proved; but that of this one flock, of this one church, two societies divided, without just cause, in communion, might not be true and lively members; both in one body mystical in the sight of God, though divided in unity in the sight of men. It is true indeed, whosoever is shut out from the church on earth, is likewise cut off from it before God in heaven: but you know it must be *clave non errante;* when the cause of abscission is true and sufficient.

Ad §. 3. If you say so, "you say no more than the Fathers." But what evasions and tergiversations are these? Why do you put us off with *ifs* and *ands?* I beseech you tell me, or at least him that desires to reap some benefit by our conference, directly and categorically—Do you say so, or do you say it is not so? Were the excommunicated churches of Asia still members of the catholic church, (I mean in God's account,) or were they not? but all damned for that horrible heresy of celebrating the feast of Easter upon a diverse day from the western churches? If you mean honestly and fairly, answer directly to this question, and then you shall see what will come of it. Assure yourself, you have a wolf by the ears: if you say they were, you overthrow your own conclusions, and say, that churches divided in communion may both be members of the catholic: if they were not, then shall we have saints and martyrs in heaven, which were no members of the catholic Roman church.

As for Irenæus his μὴ προκόπτειν, and Ruffinus his *abscindere ab unitate corporis*, they imply no more but this at the most, That Victor (*quantum in se fuit*) did cut them off from the external communion

of the catholic church, supposing, that for their obstinacy in their tradition they had cut themselves off from the internal communion of it; but that this sentence of Victor's was ratified in heaven, and that they were indeed cut off from the mystical body of Christ, so far was Irenæus from thinking, that he, and in a manner all the other bishops, reprehended Victor for pronouncing this sentence on them upon a cause so insufficient: which how they could say, or possibly think of a sentence ratified by God in heaven, and not reprehend God himself, I desire you to inform me: and if they did not intend to reprehend the sentence of God himself, together with Victor's, then I believe it will follow unavoidably that they did not conceive nor believe Victor's sentence to be ratified by God; and consequently did not believe that these excommunicated churches were not, in God's account, true members of the body of Christ.

Ad §. 4. And here again we have another subterfuge, by a verbal distinction between excommunication and voluntary separation: as if the separation which the church of Rome made in Victor's time from the Asian churches were not a voluntary separation; or as if the churches of Asia did not voluntarily do that which was the cause of their separation; or as if (though they separated not themselves indeed, conceiving the cause to be insufficient) they did not yet remain voluntarily separated, rather than conform themselves to the church of Rome; or lastly, as if the Grecians of old, or the protestants of late, might not pretend, as justly as the Asian churches, that their separation too was not voluntary, but of necessity; for that the church of Rome required of them, under pain of excommnication, such conditions of her communion as were neither necessary nor lawful to be performed.

Ad §. 5. And here again the matter is straitened by another limitation. Both sides, say you, must claim to be the church: but what then, if one of them only claim (though vainly) to be the church, and the other content itself with being a part of it? These then, it seems, (for any thing you have said to the contrary,) may be both members of the catholic church; and certainly this is the case now between the church of England and the church of Rome; and, for ought I know, was between the church of Rome and the church of Greece: for I believe it will hardly be proved, that the excommunication between them was mutual; nor that the church of Greece esteems itself the whole church, and the church of Rome no church; but itself a sound member of the church, and that a corrupted one.

Again, whereas you say the Fathers speak of a voluntary separation; certainly they speak of any separation by heretics; and such were (in Victor's judgment) the churches of Asia, for holding an opinion contrary to the faith, as he esteemed: or if he did not, why did he cut them off from the communion of the church? But the true difference is, the Fathers speak of those which by your church are esteemed heretics, and are so; whereas the Asian churches were by Victor esteemed heretics, but were not so.

Ad §. 6. But their authorities produced shew no more than what I have shewed—that the church is but one in exclusion of heretics and schismatics—and not that two particular churches divided by mistake upon some overvalued difference may not be both parts of the catholic.

Ad §. 7. But I desire you to tell me, whether you will do this, if the doctrines produced and confirmed by such a consent of Fathers happen to be in the

judgment of the church of Rome either not catholic or absolutely heretical. If you will undertake this, you will hear further from me: but if, when their places are produced, you will pretend (as some of your side do) that surely they are corrupted, having neither reason nor show of reason for it, unless this may pass for one, (as perhaps it may where reasons are scarce,) that they are against your doctrine; or if you will say they are to be interpreted according to the pleasure of your church, whether their words will bear it or no; then I shall but lose my labour; for this is not to try your church by the Fathers, but the Fathers by your church.

The doctrines which I undertake to justify by a greater consent of Fathers than here you produce, for instance, shall be these:

1. That God's election supposeth prescience of man's faith and perseverance.

2. That God doth not predetermine men to all their actions.

3. That the pope hath no power in temporalities over kings, either directly or indirectly.

4. That the bishop of Rome may err in his public determinations of matters of faith.

5. That the blessed Virgin was guilty of original sin.

6. That the blessed Virgin was guilty of actual sin.

7. That the communion was to be administered to the laity in both kinds.

8. That the reading of the scripture was to be denied to no man.

9. That the opinion of the millenaries is true.

10. That the eucharist is to be administered to infants.

11. That the substance of bread and wine remains in the eucharist after consecration.

12. That the souls of the saints departed enjoy not the vision of God before the last day.

13. That at the day of judgment all the saints shall pass through a purging fire.

All these propositions are held by your church either heretical, or at least not catholical; and yet in this promise of yours you have undertaken to believe them as firmly as you now do this—that two divided societies cannot be both members of the catholic church.

Ad §. 8. Is it not then the answerer's part to shew, that the proofs pretended are indeed no proofs? And doth not he prove no proofs, (at least in your mouth,) who undertakes to shew that an equal or greater nmuber of the very same witnesses is rejected by yourselves in many other things? Either the consent of the Fathers in any age or ages is infallible, and then you are to reject it in nothing; or it is not so, and then you are not to urge it in any thing: as if the Fathers' testimonies against us were swords and spears, and against you bulrushes.

Ad §. 9. In effect as if you should say, If you answer not as I please, I will dispute no longer. But you remember the proverb—will think of it—*Occasionem quærit, qui cupit discedere.*

Ad §. 10. I pray tell me, is not *therefore* a note of an illation, or a conclusion? and is not your last *therefore* this: Therefore her judgment is to be rested in? Which, though it be not your first conclusion, yet yours it is, and you may not disclaim it; and it is so near of kin to the former, (in your judgment I am sure,) that they must stand or fall together; therefore he that speaks pertinently for the disproving of the one, cannot speak impertinently towards the disproving the other; and therefore you cannot so shift it off, but of

necessity you must answer the argument there urged, or confess it ingenuously to be unanswerable.

Or if you will not answer any thing where the contradiction of your first conclusion is not in terms inferred, then take it thus: If St. Cyprian and St. Austin did not think it necessary in matters of faith to rest in the judgment of the Roman church and the adherents of it; then, either they thought not the catholic church's judgment necessary to be rested on, or they thought not *that* the catholic church. But the antecedent is true, and undeniably proved so by their actions, and the consequence evident; therefore the consequent must be true in one or other part: but you will not say the former is true; it remains therefore the latter must be, and that is—That St. Austin and St. Cyprian did not think the church of Rome and the adherents of it to be the catholic church.

Ad §. 11. But I tell you now, and have already told you, that in your discourse before Mr. Skinner and Dr. Sheldon, I answered your major, as then you framed your argument, as now your minor, thus: If you understand by one company of Christians, one in external communion, I deny your major: for I say, that two several societies of Christians, which do not externally communicate together, may be both parts of the same catholic church: and what difference there is between this, and the conclusion I told you you should have proved, I do not well understand.

Ad §. 12. And is it possible you should say so, when every one of the places carry this sense in their forehead, and seven of the eleven in terms express it—that they intended only to exclude heretics and schismatics from being parts of the church? for if they did not, against whom did they intend them? Pagans lay no claim to the church, therefore not

against them; catholics they did not intend to exclude: I know not who remains besides, but heretics and schismatics. Besides the frequent opposition in them between *one church* on the one side, and *heretics and schismatics*, who sees not that in these places they intend to exclude only these pretenders out of the church's unity?

Lastly, Whereas you say that the places say, that the church cannot be divided, and that they account those divided who are of a diverse faith or a diverse communion; I tell you, that I have read them over and over, and unless my eyes deceive, they say not one word of a diverse communion.

Ad §. 13. Whereas a heretic, in your language, is he that opposeth pertinaciously the common faith of the church; in mine, he is such a one as holds an error against faith with obstinacy: verily a monstrous difference between these definitions. To *oppose* and *hold against*, I hope, are all one: *faith* and *the common faith of the church*, sure, are not very different; *pertinaciously* and *with obstinacy*, methinks, might pass for synonymous; and seeing the parts agree so well, methinks the total should not be at great hostility. And for the definition of a schismatic, if you like not mine, (which yet I give you out of a Father,) I pray take your own; and then shew me, (if you mean to do any thing,) that wheresoever there are two societies of Christians differing in external communion, one of them must of necessity be either heretical or schismatical in your own sense of these words. To the contrary, I have said already, (and say it now again, that you may not forget it,) the Roman and the Asian churches in Victor's time, the Roman and the African in St. Stephen's time, differed in external communion, and yet neither of them was

heretical; for they did not oppose pertinaciously the common faith of the church: neither of them was schismatical, for they did not separate, (never making mention of the case at all,) but were separated by the Roman church, and that upon some cause, though it were not sufficient.

Ad §. 14. The Donatists did so (as Facundus Hermianensis testifies); but you are abused, I believe, with not distinguishing between these two: They did pretend, that the church required of them some unlawful thing among the conditions of her communion; and, They did pretend, that it was unlawful for them to communicate with the church. This I confess they did pretend; but it was in regard of some persons in the church with whom they thought it unlawful to communicate: but the former they did not pretend, (I mean while they continued mere schismatics,) viz. that there was any error in the church, or impiety in her public service of God: and this was my meaning in saying, A schismatic is he which separates from the church without pretence of error or unlawfulness in the conditions of her communion: yet if I had left out the term *unlawfulness*, the definition had been better, and not obnoxious to this cavillation: and so I did in the second paper which I sent you for your direction; which, if you had dealt candidly, you should have taken notice of.

Ad §. 15. I have replied (as I think) fully to every part and particle of your argument; neither was the history of St. Cyprian's and St. Austin's opposition to the church of Rome an excursion or diversion, but a clear demonstration of the contradictory of your conclusion; viz. that the Roman church, &c. and therefore her judgment not to be rested upon. For an answer hereto, I shall be very importunate with you;

and therefore, if you desire to avoid trouble, I pray come out of my debt as soon as may be.

If it be said, that my argument is not contradictory to your conclusion, because it shews only that the Roman church, with her adherents, was not in St. Cyprian's or St. Austin's time the catholic church, but was at the time before Luther; I say, to conclude the one is to conclude the other. For certainly, if it were then at Luther's time so, it was always so; if it was not always, it was not then: for if it be of the essence, or necessary to the church (as is pretended) to be a society of Christians joined in communion with the church and bishop of Rome; then did it always agree to the church, and therefore in St. Cyprian's and St. Austin's time, as well as at Luther's rising: if it were not always, particularly not in St. Cyprian's time, of the essence, or necessary to the church to be so; then it was impossible the church should acquire this essence or this property afterwards, and therefore impossible it should have it at the time of Luther's rising. *Necessarium est, quod non aliquando inest, aliquando non inest; alicui inest, alicui non inest; sed quod semper et omni.* Arist. Post. Analyt.

Again, every sophister knows, that of particulars nothing can be concluded; and therefore he that will shew that the church of Rome, and the adherents of it, was the catholic church at Luther's rising, he must argue thus:—It was always so, therefore then it was so. Now this antecedent is overthrown by any instance to the contrary; and so the first antecedent being proved false, the first consequent cannot but be false; for what reason can be imagined that the church of Rome, and the adherents of it, was not the whole catholic church at St. Cyprian's time, and was at Luther's rising? If you grant (as I think you cannot deny) that a church

divided from the communion of the Roman, may be still in truth and in God's account a part of the catholic, (which is the thing we speak of,) then I hope Mr. Lewgar's argument from unity of communion is fallen to the ground; and it will be no good plea to say,

Some one church, not consisting of divers communions, was the catholic church at Luther's rising:

No one church can be named to be the catholic church but the Roman:

Therefore the Roman church was the catholic at Luther's rising.

For Mr. Lewgar hath not, nor can prove the major of this syllogism certainly true; but to the contrary I have proved, that it cannot be certainly true, by shewing divers instances, wherein divers divided communions have made up the catholic church; and therefore not the dividing of the communions, but the cause and ground of it, is to be regarded, whether it be just and sufficient, or unjust and insufficient.

Neither is the bishop or church of Rome, with the adherents of it, an infallible judge thereof; for it is evident, both he and it have erred herein divers times: which I have evinced already by divers examples, which I will not repeat; but add to them one confessed by Mr. Lewgar himself, in his discourse upon the article of the Catholic Church, page 84. "St. Athanasius being excommunicated, (though by the whole church [a],) yet might remain a member of Christ's body (not visible, for that it is impossible that a person cut off from visible communion, though unjustly, should be a visible member of the church [b], but) by invisible communion, by reason of the invalidity of the sentence;

[a] How by the whole church, when himself was part of it, and communicated still with divers other parts of it?

[b] What! not to them who know and believe him to be unjustly excommuuicated?

which being unjust, is valid enough to visible excision, but not further."

II. *A Discourse against the Infallibility of the Roman Church, with an Answer to all those Texts of Scripture that are alleged to prove it.*

THE condition of communion with the church of Rome, without the performance whereof no man can be received into it, is this: that he believe firmly and without doubting whatsoever that church requires him to believe.

It is impossible that any man should certainly believe any thing, unless that thing be either evident of itself, (as that twice two are four, that every whole is greater than a part of itself,) or unless he have some certain reason (at least some supposed certain reason) and infallible guide for his belief thereof.

The doctrines which the church of Rome requireth to be believed, are not evident of themselves; for then every one would grant them at first hearing, without any further proof. He therefore that will believe them, must have some certain and infallible ground whereon to build his belief of them.

There is no other ground for a man's belief of them, especially in many points, but only an assurance of the infallibility of the church of Rome.

Now this point of that church's infallibility is not evident of itself; for then no man could choose but in his heart believe it, without further proof. Secondly, it were in vain to bring any proof of it, as vain as to light a candle to shew men the sun. Thirdly, it were impossible to bring any proof of it, seeing nothing can be more evident than that which of itself is evident; and nothing can be brought in proof of any thing,

which is not more evident than that matter to be proved. But now experience teacheth, that millions there are who have heard talk of the infallibility of the Roman church, and yet do not believe that the defenders of it do not think it either vain or impossible to go about to prove it; and from hence it follows plainly, that this point is not evident of itself.

Neither is there any other certain ground for any man's belief of it; or if there be, I desire it may be produced, as who am ready and most willing to submit my judgment to it, fully persuaded that none can be produced that will endure a severe and impartial examination.

If it be said, the Roman church is to be believed infallible because the scripture says it is so:

1. I demand, how shall I be assured of the texts that be alleged, that they are indeed scripture, that is, the word of God? And the answer to this must be, either because the church tells me so, or some other: if any other be given, then all is not finally resolved into, and built upon that church's authority; and this answer then, I hope, a protestant may have leave to make use of, when he is put to that perilous question, How know you the scripture to be the scripture? If the answer be, Because the church tells me so; my reply is ready; That to believe that church is infallible, because the scriptures say so; and that the scripture is the word of God, because the same church says so, is nothing else but to believe the church is infallible, because the church says so, which is infallible.

2. I could never yet, from the beginning of Genesis to the end of the Apocalypse, find it written so much as once in express terms, or equivalently, that the church, in subordination to the see of Rome, shall be always infallible.

3. If it be said, that this is drawn by good consequence from scripture truly interpreted; I demand, what certain ground have I to warrant me that this consequence is good, and this interpretation true? And if answer be made, that reason will tell me so; I reply, 1. That this is to build all upon my own reason and private interpretation. 2. I have great reason to fear, that reason assures no man that the infallibility of the church of Rome may be deduced from scripture by good and firm consequence.

4. If it be said, that a consent of Fathers do so interpret the scripture; I answer, 1. That this is most false, and cannot, without impudence, be pretended; as I am ready to justify to any indifferent hearer. 2. I demand, who shall be judge whether the Fathers mean as is pretended? If it be said, reason will tell me so; I say, 1. this is false; 2. this is again to do that which is objected to protestants for such a horrid crime, that is, to build all finally upon reason.

If it be said, they are so interpreted by the catholic church; I demand, whether by the catholic church be meant that only that is in subordination to the bishop of Rome; or any other with that, or besides that? If any other, it is false and impudent to pretend that they so understand the Fathers or scripture: if that only, then this is to say, that that church is infallible, because it may be deduced from scripture that it is so; and to prove that it may be deduced from scripture, because the Fathers say so; and to prove the Fathers do say and mean so, because the church of Rome says they do so. And then what a stir and trouble was here to no purpose? Why was it not rather said plainly at the beginning, The church of Rome is cirtainly infallible, because she herself says so; and she must say true, because she is infallible? and that is as

much as to say, Unless you grant me the question, I neither can nor will dispute with you.

If it is said, Indeed the Fathers do not draw this doctrine from scripture; but yet they affirm it with a full consent, as a matter of tradition; I reply, 1. That this pretence also is false, and that upon trial it will not appear to have any colour of probability to any who remembers that it is the present Roman church, and not the catholic church, whose infallibility is here disputed. 2. I demand, who shall be judge whether the Fathers do indeed affirm this or no? If reason, then again we are fallen upon that dangerous rock, that all must be resolved into private reason: if the church, I ask again, what church is meant? If the church of the Grecians, or Abyssines, or protestants, or any other but the Roman, it is evident they deny it: if the church of Rome, then we are again very near the head of the circle; for I ask, how shall I be assured this church will not err and deceive me in interpreting the Fathers? And the answer must be either none, or this, that the church is infallible.

Obj. If it be said, that the infallibility of the Roman church would yield the church so many commodities, and that the want of an infallible church to guide men in the way to heaven would bring so many mischiefs upon the world, that it cannot be thought but that God, out of his love to men, hath appointed this church as an infallible guide to all other churches, seeing it is so necessary there should be some such guide, and so evident there is no other:

Answ. I answer, that this argument would serve the church of Greece, or England, or Geneva, to prove itself infallible, and the guide of all other churches, would they but take upon them to be so: for every one might say for itself, it is necessary there should be

some guide; it is evident there is no other; *ergo*, I am appointed by God to be that guide. The same argument any man might use, to make himself monarch of any popular state: for first, he might represent unto them the commodities of a monarchy and the mischiefs of a democracy; then he might say, that God surely, out of his love to them, hath appointed some remedy for their inconveniencies; and lastly, that he hath ordained no other to redress them but himself; and then conclude, that he alone must of necessity be the man appointed to rule over them.

I answer, secondly, that here also we must resolve all into reason and the private spirit; or that we are still in the circle. For I demand, how do you know that these pretended commodities are to be compassed, and these pretended mischiefs are to be avoided, only by the infallibility of the church of Rome, or some other church, and not by any other means which God hath provided? If you say, reason tells you so; I say, 1. This is to make reason your last and lowest foundation. 2. I assure you, reason tells me no such matter; and yet I know that I am as willing to hear it as you are. If you say, the church tells you, and she is infallible; this, I say, is to prove the church infallible because she is so.

Thirdly, I demand how it is possible you should know that these pretended commodities might not be gained, and these mischiefs, which you fear, avoided, without any assistance of the church of Rome's infallibility, if all men in the world did believe the scripture and live according to it, and would require no more of others but to do so? If you say, that notwithstanding this there would be no unity in doctrine; I answer, 1, It is impossible you should know this, considering that there are many places in scripture which do more than

probably import, that the want of piety in living is the cause of want of unity in believing. 2. That there would be unity of opinion in all things necessary; and that in things not necessary, unity of opinion is not necessary. But lastly, that notwithstanding differences in these things of less importance, there might and would be unity of communion, unity of charity and affection, which is one of the greatest blessings which the world is capable of; absolute unity of opinion being a matter rather to be desired than hoped for.

Obj. Against this it has been objected, that the scripture cannot be the guide, because many men have used their best endeavours to follow it, and yet have fallen, some into Arianism, others into Pelagianism, others into other damnable heresies; and how can I secure any man but he may do the like?

Answ. To this I answer, by distinguishing the persons which are pretended to have made use of this guide, and yet to have fallen into heresy, that they were either such as did love the truth sincerely and above all things, and did seek it diligently and with all their power, to this intent, that they might conform their belief and life unto it; such as, following St. Paul's direction, did first try all things deliberately, and then chose what in their conscience they thought was best: or they were such as, for want of the love of the truth, God suffered to fall into strong delusions, to fall to a false religion, because they brought not forth the fruits of the true; to make shipwreck of their faith, because they had cast away a good conscience; to have their eyes blinded, and their light taken away, because they made not the right use of it, but were idle and unprofitable, and set their hearts upon vanity, and had only a form of religion, but denied the effect of it in their lives and conversations: in a word, such as were

betrayed to their error, and kept for ever in it, either by negligence in seeking the truth, or unwillingness to find it, or by some other voluntary sin; and for these I dare not flatter them with hope of pardon. But let me tell you, it is not the error of the understanding, but the sin of their will that truly and properly damns them. But for the former, I am confident that nothing is more contumelious to the goodness of God, than to think that he will damn any such; for he should damn men that truly love him, and desire to serve him, for doing that which, all things considered, was impossible for them not to do.

Obj. If it is said, that pride of their own understanding made them not submit to the church of Rome and to her guidance; and that for this, being a voluntary sin, they may be justly damned:

Answ. I answer, that whether the church of Rome be the guide of all men, is the question, and therefore not to be begged, but proved: that the man we speak of is very willing to follow this guide, could he find any good ground to believe it is his guide; and therefore the reason he follows her not, is not pride, but ignorance: that as it is humility to obey those whom God hath set over us, so it is credulity to follow every one that will take upon him to lead us: that if the ***blind lead the blind***, not only the leader, but the follower shall perish: lastly, that the present church of Rome pretends very little, and indeed nothing of moment, to get the office of being head and guide of the church, which Antichrist, when he cometh, may not and will not make use of for the very same end and purpose; and therefore he had reason not to be too sudden and precipitate in committing himself to the conduct of the pope, for fear of mistaking Antichrist for the vicar of Christ.

Obj. But in all commonwealths it is necessary there should be not only a law for men to live by, but also a living and speaking judge, to decide their differences arising about the various interpretations of the law; and otherwise controversies would be endless; therefore, if such a judge be so necessary in civil affairs, for the procuring and preserving our temporal peace and happiness, how much more necessary is he, for the deciding of those controversies that concern the saving and damning of our souls for ever!

Answ. Hereunto I answer, 1, that if it were as evident and certain that God hath appointed the pope or church of Rome to be the guide of faith and judge of controversies, as that the king had appointed such a one to be lord chief justice, the having such a guide would be very available for to preserve the church in unity, and to conduct men's souls to heaven; but a judge that has no better title or evidence to his place, than the pope has to that which he pretends to; a judge that is doubtful, and justly questionable, whether he be the judge or no, is in all probability likely to produce clean contrary effects, and to be himself one of the apples of strife, one of the greatest subjects of controversy, and occasion of dissensions.

And to avoid this great inconvenience, if God had intended the pope or church of Rome for this great office, certainly he would have said so, very plainly and very frequently; if not frequently, certainly sometimes, once at least he would have said so in express terms: but he does not say so, no, not so much as once, nor any thing from whence it may be collected with any sure or firm consequence; therefore if it be not certain, certainly it is very probable he never meant so.

Again, in civil controversies the case can hardly be so put, that there should be any necessity that the

same man should be judge and party: but in matters of religion, wherein all have equal interest, every man is party, and engaged to judge for temporal respects this way or that way, and therefore not fit to be a judge. But what then, if he, who has, with so much clamour and so little reason vouched for the infallibility of the church of Rome, do tell you plainly, there is no living judge on earth, appointed by God, to decide the controversies arising amongst Christians, nor any way to determine them, but by scripture. His words are express and formal, and need no other commentary but a true interpretation.

Optat. Melevit. Lib. 5. ad princip.

Vos dicitis, licet; *nos,* non licet: *inter vestrum* licet, *et nostrum* non licet, *nutant et vemigant animæ populorum. Nemo vobis credat, nemo nobis; omnes contentiosi homines sumus. Quærendi sunt judices: si Christiani, de utraque parte dari non possunt: de foris quærendus est judex. Si paganus, non potest nosse Christiana secreta: si Judæus, inimicus est Christiani baptismatis. Ergo in terris de hac re nullum poterit reperiri judicium: de cœlo quærendus est judex. Sed et quid pulsamus cœlum, cum habeamus hic in evangelio testamentum? Quia hoc loco recte possunt terrena cœlestibus comparari; tale est, quod quivis hominum habens numerosos filios: his, quamdiu præsens est, ipse imperat singulis, non est adhuc necessarium testamentum. Sic et Christus, quamdiu præsens in terris fuit,* (*quamvis nec modo desit,*) *pro tempore quicquid necessarium erat, apostolis imperavit. Sed quomodo terrenus pater, cum se in confinio senserit mortis, timens ne post mortem suam rupta pace litigent fratres, adhibitis testibus voluntatem suam de*

pectore morituro transfert in tabulas diu duraturas; et si fuerit inter fratres contentio nata, non itur ad tumulum, sed quæritur testamentum; et qui in tumulo quiescit, tacitis de tabulis loquitur vivus. Is, cujus est testamentum, in cœlo est: ergo voluntas ejus velut in testamento, sic in evangelio inquiratur.

That is, "You say such a thing is lawful; we say it is unlawful: the minds of the people are doubtful and wavering between your *lawful* and our *unlawful.* Let no man believe either you or us; we are all contentious men. We must seek therefore for judges between us. If Christians are to be our judges, both sides will not afford such: we must seek for a judge abroad. If he be a pagan, he cannot know the secrets of Christianity: if he be a Jew, he is an enemy to Christian baptism. Therefore there is no judgment of this matter can be found on earth: we must seek for a judge from heaven. But to what end do we solicit heaven, when we have here in the gospel a will and testament? And because here we may fitly compare earthly things with heavenly; the case is just as if a man had many sons: while he is present with them, he commands every one what he will have done, and there is no need as yet of making his last will. So also Christ, as long as he was present on earth, (though neither now is he wanting,) for a time commanded his apostles whatsoever was necessary. But just as an earthly father, when he feels his death approaching, fearing lest after his death the brothers should fall out and quarrel, calls in witnesses, and translates his will from his dying heart into written tables, that will continue long after him: now if any controversy arises among the brothers, they do not go to his tomb, but consult his last will; and thus he, while he rests in his grave, does speak to them in those silent tables,

as if he were alive. He whose testament we have is in heaven; therefore we are to inquire his pleasure in the gospel, as in his last will and testament."

It is plain from hence, that he knew not of any living, speaking, audible judge, furnished with authority and infallibility to decide this controversy. Had he known any such, assisted with the Spirit of God for this purpose, it had been horrible impiety against God and the church's peace, to say there was none such; or the Spirit of God was not able by his assistance to keep this judge from being hindered, with partiality, from seeing the truth. Had he thought the bishop of Rome speaking *ex cathedra* to be this judge, now had been the time to have said so; but he says directly the contrary, and therefore it is plain he knew of no such authority he had.

Neither is there the like reason for a judge, finally and with authority, to determine controversies in religion and civil differences: for if the controversy be about *mine* and *thine*, about land or money, or any other thing, it is impossible that both I should hold the possession of it, and my adversary too; and one of us must do injury to the other, which is not fit it should be eternal: but in matters of doctrine the case is clean contrary; I may hold my opinion, and do my adversary no wrong; and my adversary may hold his, and do me none.

Texts of Scripture alleged for Infallibility.

The texts alleged for it by cardinal Perron and Mr. Stratford are partly prophecies of the Old Testament, partly promises of the New.

1. Isa. i. 26. *Thou shalt be called, The city of justice, the faithful city.*

2. Isa. lii. 1. *Through thee shall no more pass any that is uncircumsised, or unclean.*

3. Isa. lix. 21. *As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord; My Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever.*

4. Isa. lxii. 6. *Upon thy walls, Jerusalem, I have appointed watchmen all the day and all the night for ever, they shall not hold their peace.*

5. Jerem. xxxi. 33. *This shall be the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel, saith the Lord; I will give my law in their bowels, and in their heart I will write it; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.*

6. Ezek. xxxvi. 27. *I will put my Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them.*

7. Ezek. xxxvii. 26. *I will give my sanctification in the midst of them for ever.*

8. Ose. ii. 19, 20. *I will espouse thee to me for ever; and I will espouse thee to me in justice and judgment, and in mercy and commiserations; I will espouse thee to me in faith, and thou shalt know that I am the Lord.*

9. Cant. iv. 7. *Thou art all fair, my love, and there is no spot in thee.*

Now before we proceed further, let us reflect upon these places, and make the most of them for the behoof of the Roman church; and I believe it will then appear to any one, not veiled with prejudice, that not one of them reaches home to the conclusion intended, which is, that the Roman church is infallible.

The first place perhaps would do something, but that there are three main exceptions against it: 1. That here is no evidence, not so much as that of probability, that this is here spoken of the church of Rome. 2. That it is certain that it is not spoken of the church of Rome; but of the nation of the Jews, after their conversion, as is apparent from that which follows: *Zion shall be redeemed with judgment, and her converts with righteousness.* 3. That it was no way certain, that whatsoever society may be called *The city of righteousness, the faithful city,* must be infallible in all her doctrine; with a great deal more probability, it might challenge from hence the privilege of being impeccable: which yet Roman catholics, I believe, do not pretend to.

The second place is liable to the same exceptions; the church of Rome is not spoken of in it, but Zion and Jerusalem; and it will serve as well, nay better, to prove impeccability than infallibility.

The third place is the Achilles for this opinion, wherein every writer triumphs; but I wonder they should do so, considering the covenant here spoken of is made, not with the church of Rome, but with Zion, and them that turn from transgression in Jacob: the words are, *And the Redeemer shall come out of Zion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith the Lord. As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord: My Spirit that is in thee, and my words,* &c. Now if the church of Rome be Zion, and they that turn from iniquity in Jacob, they may have title to this covenant; if not, they must forbear, and leave it to the Jews after their conversion; to whom it is appropriated by a more infallible interpreter than the pope; I mean St. Paul, Rom. xi. 26. And it seems, the church of Rome also believes as

much; for otherwise, why does she, in the margin of her Bible, send us to that place of St. Paul for an exposition.

Read the fourth place, and you shall find nothing can be made of it but this; that the watchmen of Jerusalem shall never cease importuning God for the sending of the Messias. To this purpose speaks the prophet in ver. 1. *For Zion's sake I will not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness:—and the Gentiles shall see thy righteousness.* But the words following these that are objected make it most evident, which are, *Ye that make mention of the Lord, keep not silence, and give him no rest, till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth.*

The fifth place had they set down entirely, for very shame they could not have urged it for the infallibility of the Roman church. The words are, *Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah: not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers—but this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel; After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest of them, saith the Lord.* And now I have transcribed the place, I think it superfluous to make any other answer.

The same answer, and no other, will I make also to the sixth place. The words are, *Therefore say unto the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord God, I do*

not this for your sakes, O house of Israel, but for my holy name's sake, ver. 22. ***I will take you from among the heathen, and gather you out of all countries, and will bring you into your own land,*** ver. 24. ***Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you,*** ver. 25. ***A new heart also will I give you,*** ver. 26. ***And I will put my spirit in you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them,*** ver. 27. ***And ye shall dwell in the land that I gave to your fathers: I will also save you from all your uncleannesses, and I will call for the corn, and will increase it, and lay no famine upon you. And the desolate land shall be tilled,*** ver. 34. ***And they shall say, This land that was desolate, is become like the garden of Eden.***

The seventh place also carries its answer in its forehead: ***Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone,—and I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel; and one king shall be king to them all,*** &c. to the end of the chapter. In all which place he that can find a syllable of the church of Rome, he must have better eyes than I have.

The next (eighth) place would be very pregnant for the church of Rome, if of courtesy we would grant, that whatsoever is promised to Israel is intended to them; as you may see in the place at large, from ver. 17. to the end of the chapter.

The ninth and last place, out of the Canticles, had it been urged by a protestant, it would have been thought a sufficient answer to have said, that mystical texts are not fit to argue upon. But if this will not serve, then we answer, 1. That there is no mention nor intimation of the church of Rome. 2. That it

proves either too much, or nothing at all; that is, that the Roman church is impeccable as well as infallible; unless we will say that errors only are spots, and impieties are not.

Out of the New Testament they allege these texts.

Matt. xvi. 18. *Upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.*

But this is said of the catholic, not of the Roman church; nor can it ever be proved that the church in communion with the see of Rome is the catholic church. Secondly, it says something for the perpetuity of the church, but not for the infallibility of it; unless you will take for granted what can never be proved, that a church that teaches any erroneous doctrine is a church no longer; which is all one as if you should say, a man that has the stone, or gout, or any other disease, is not a man.

They urge Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. *And I am with you all days, even unto the consummation of the world.*

And here also if we will grant, 1. that by *you* is meant you and only you of the church of Rome: 2. that our Saviour has here obliged himself to assist, not only *sufficienter*, but also *irresistibiliter*; not only to preserve in the church a light of sufficient direction, as he provided a star for the wise men, and a pillar of fire, and a cloud for the conduct of the Israelites; but also compel, or at least necessitate them, to follow it: 3. that he will be with them, not only to keep them from all damnable and destructive errors, but absolutely from all erroneous doctrines: if these things, I say, were granted, some good might be done: but certainly these are μεγάλα λίαν αἰτήματα, too great favours to be looked for by strangers. And yet if all this be granted, we should run into this inconvenience on the other side; that if the promise be absolute, not only

the whole church of Rome; not only a general council; not the pope alone; but every bishop, every priest, every one, who is sent by Christ to baptize and preach the gospel, might claim this assistance by virtue of Christ's words, and consequently infallibility.

They urge Matt. xviii. 17. *If he will not hear the church, let him be to thee as the heathen and the publican.*

And here again *the church* must be the church of Rome, or we are as far to seek as ever. But what if by it be meant (which is most evident out of the place) every particular church of Christians, whereunto any one Christian, injured by another, may address himself for remedy. Certainly whosoever reads the place without prejudice, I am confident that he shall not deny but that the sense of the words is, That if any Christian injure another, and being first admonished of it by him in private; then by him before two or three witnesses; lastly, by the church he lives in; and yet still proceeds on obstinately in doing injury to his brother, he is to be esteemed as *a heathen or a publican:* and then if infallibility may be concluded, what a multitude of infallible churches shall we have!

They urge Matt. xviii. 20. *Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.*

But this also either shoots short, or over; either proves nothing, or too much; either it proves not the infallibility of the whole church, or it proves the infallibility of every part of it; either not the infallibility of general councils, or the infallibility of particular councils; for there two or three at least are assembled in Christ's name. But then, besides, these two or three, for aught I can see or gather from the text, may as well be of any other church as the Roman.

They urge Luke x. 16. ***He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me.***

But this will not do you any service, unless of favour we grant, that *you* here is you of the church of Rome; and but very little, if that be granted; for then every bishop, every priest must be infallible. For there is not the meanest of the messengers of Christ but this may be verified of him, That he that heareth him heareth Christ; and he that despiseth him despiseth Christ.

They urge out of St. John xiv. 16, 17. ***I will ask my Father, and he will give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth.***

But here also what warrant have we by *you* to understand the church of Rome? whereas he that compares verse 26. with this, shall easily perceive that our Saviour speaks only of the apostles in their own persons; for there he says, going on in the same discourse, ***The holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said to you:*** which cannot agree but to the apostles themselves in person; and not to their successors, who had not yet been taught, and therefore had not forgotten any thing, and therefore could not have them brought to their remembrance. But what if it had been promised to them and their successors? Had they no successors but them of the Roman church? This indeed is pretended and cried up, but for proofs of it *desiderantur*.

Again, I would fain know whether there be any certainty that every pope is a good Christian, or whether he may not be, in the sense of the scripture, *of the world?* If not, how was it that Bellarmine should have cause to think that such a rank of them went successively together to the Devil?

III. *A Conference concerning the Infallibility of the Roman Church: proving, that the present Church of Rome either errs in her worshipping the Blessed Virgin Mary, or that the Ancient Church did err in condemning the Collyridians as Heretics.*

1. *Demand.* Whether the infallibility of the Roman church be not the foundation of their faith, which are members of that church?

Ans. The infallibility of the church is not the foundation, but a part of their faith, who are members of the church. And the Roman church is held to be the church by all those who are members of it.

Reply. That which is the last reason, why you believe the scripture to be the written word of God, and unwritten traditions his unwritten word, and this or that to be the true sense of scripture, that is to you the foundation of your faith; and such unto you is the infallible authority of the Roman church. Therefore unto you it is not only a part of your faith, but also such a part, as is the foundation of all other parts. Therefore you are deceived, if you think there is any more opposition between being a part of the faith, and the foundation of other parts of it, than there is between being a part of a house, and the foundation of it. But whether you will have it the foundation of your faith, or only a part of it, for the present purpose, it is all one.

2. *Demand.* Whether the infallibility of the Roman church be not absolutely overthrown, by proving the present Roman church is in error, or that the ancient was?

Answ. It is, if the error be in those things wherein she is affirmed to be infallible; viz. in points of faith.

Reply. And this here spoken of, whether it be law-

ful to offer tapers and incense to the honour of the blessed Virgin, is, I hope, a question concerning a point of faith.

3. *Demand.* Whether offering a cake to the Virgin Mary be not as lawful as to offer incense and tapers, and divers other oblations, to the same Virgin?

Answ. It is as lawful to offer a cake to her honour, as wax-tapers; but neither the one nor the other may be offered to her, or her honour, as the term or object of the action. For, to speak properly, nothing is offered to her, or her honour, but to God in the honour of the blessed Virgin. For incense, it is a foul slander, that it is offered any way to the blessed Virgin; for that incensing, which is used in the time of mass, is ever understood by all sorts of people to be directed to God only.

Reply. If any thing be offered to her, she is the object of that oblation: as if I see water, and through water something else, the water is the object of my sight, though not the last object. If I honour the king's deputy, and by him the king, the deputy is the object of my action, though not the final object: and to say these things may be offered to her, but not as to the object of the action, is to say, they may be offered to her, but not to her. For what else is meant by the object of an action, but that thing on which the action is employed, and to which it is directed?

If you say, that by the object of the action you mean the final object only, wherewith the action is terminated; you should then have spoken more properly and distinctly, and not have denied her simply to be the object of this action, when you mean only she is not such a kind of object; no more than you may deny a man to be a living creature, meaning only that he is not a horse.

Secondly, I say, it is not required of Roman catho-

lics, when they offer tapers to the saints, that by an actual intention they direct their action actually to God; but it is held sufficient, that they know and believe that the saints are in subordination and near relation to God, and that they give this honour to the saints because of this relation; and to God himself rather habitually and *interpretativè*, than actually, expressly, and formally: as many men honour the king's deputy, without having any present thought of the king, and yet their action may be interpreted an honour to the king, being given to his deputy, only because he is his deputy, and for his relation to the king. Thirdly, I say, there is no reason or ground in the world for any man to think that the Collyridians did not choose the Virgin Mary for the object of their worship, rather than any other woman or any other creature, merely for her relation to Christ; and, by consequence, there is no ground to imagine, but that at least habitually and *interpretativè*, they directed their action unto Christ, if not actually and formally. And *ergo*, if that be a sufficient defence for the papists, that they make not the blessed Virgin the final object of their worship, but worship her, not for her own sake, but for her relation unto Christ; Epiphanius surely did ill to charge the Collyridians with heresy, having nothing to impute to them, but only that he was informed that they offered a cake to the honour of the blessed Virgin; which honour yet they might, and without question did, give unto her for her relation unto Christ, and so made her not the last object and term of their worship: and from hence it is evident, that he conceived the very action itself substantially and intrinsically malicious; i. e. he believed it a sin that they offered to her at all; and so by their action put her in the place of God, by giving unto her this worship proper to God; and not that

they terminated their action finally in her, or did in very deed think her to be God, and not a creature.

"But, to speak properly," you say, "nothing is offered to her, or to her honour, but to God in honour of the blessed Virgin."

Belike then, if through Henley I go from hence to London, I may not be said properly to go to Henley, but only to London; or if through water I see the sand, I may not be properly said to see the water, but only the sand. Away with such shifting sophistry; either leave your practice of offering to saints, if it be nought, or colour it not over with such empty distinctions, if it be good: Christ saith to his apostles in regard of their relation to him, *He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me;* and yet who doubts but they that heard the apostles did properly hear them, and they that despised them did properly despise them, though their action stayed not in them, but reached up to heaven and to Christ himself? You pray to saints and angels, though you do not terminate your prayers in them; and yet I doubt not but your prayers to saints may be as properly called prayers, as those you make to God himself. For though these be of a more excellent nature than they, yet do they agree in the general nature, that they are both prayers: as, though a man be a more excellent living creature than a horse, yet he agrees with him in this, that both are living creatures. But if nothing be properly offered to her, or to her honour, why do you in your sixth answer say, You may offer any thing to the Virgin Mary, by way of presents and gifts, by the doctrine of the Roman church? Certainly he that offers by way of gift or present, offers as properly as he that offers by way of sacrifice; as a horse is as properly a living creature as a man.

But if it were so, as you say, (which is most false,) that you did not properly offer to the blessed Virgin, but to God in honour of her; yet, in my judgment, this would not qualify or mend the matter, but make it worse. For first, who taught you, that in the time of the gospel, (after the accomplishment of the prediction, *Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me;* after this interpretation of it in the Epistle to the Hebrews, *He taketh away the first that he may establish the second,*) that it is still lawful to offer tapers or incense to God? Secondly, in my understanding, to offer to God in honour of the Virgin, is more derogatory from God's honour, than to offer to her in the honour of God; for this is, in my apprehension, to subordinate God to her, to make her the terminating and final object of the action; to make God the way, and her the end, and by and through God to convey the worship unto her.

"But for incense," you say, "it is a foul slander, that it is offered any way to the blessed Virgin."

To this I answer, that your imputing slander to me is itself a slander: for, 1. in your fifth answer you have given a clear intimation that you have never been out of England; so that you cannot certainly know what is the practice of your church in this point beyond sea. And he that lives amongst you, and has but half an eye open, and free from prejudice, cannot but see that the Roman religion is much more exorbitant in the general practice of it, than it is in the doctrine published in books of controversy; where it is delivered with much caution and moderation, nay, cunning and dissimulation, that it may be the fitter to win and engage proselytes; who being once ensnared, though they be afterwards startled with strange and unlooked-for practices, yet a hundred to one but they will rather stifle their con-

science, and dash all scruples against the pretended rock of their church's infallibility, and blindly follow those guides, to whose conduct they have unadvisedly committed themselves, than come off again with the shame of being reputed weak and inconstant; so terrible an idol is this vain nothing, the opinion and censure of foolish man.

But to return again to you, I say, your ignorance of the practice of the Roman church beyond the seas does plainly convince that you have rashly, and therefore slanderously, charged me with the crime of slander. As for your reason you add, consider it again, and you will see it is worth nothing. For what if incensing in time of mass be understood by all sorts of people to be directed to God alone, (which yet you cannot possibly know,) yet this I hope hinders not, but that in processions you may incense the images of the saints, and consequently (according to your doctrine) do this honour to the saints themselves represented by the images. I myself (unless I am very much mistaken) was present when this very thing was done to the picture of St. Bennet or St. Gregory, in the cloister of St. Vedastus in the monastery in Doway.

But indeed what a ridiculous inconsequence is it to think that wax tapers may lawfully be offered to the saints, and incense may not; or if incense may not, which you seem to disclaim as impious, that wax tapers may.

4. *Demand.* Whether the Collyridians were not condemned as heretics by the ancient church, first, for offering a cake upon an anniversary feast to the blessed Virgin; secondly, for that they did this not being priests.

Answ. The Collyridians were condemned as heretics for two things: first, for employing women in the place

and office of priests to offer a cake (not in the nature of a gift or present, but) in the nature of a sacrifice[a], which was never lawful for any but men[b], and those consecrated[c].

Secondly, for offering this sacrifice[d], εἰς ὄνομα, in the name of the blessed Virgin, *id est*, unto her, herself directly and terminatively, as an act of Divine worship and adoration[e], due unto her, as unto a sovereign power and Deity[f].

Reply. It seems then these women might offer this cake to the honour and name of the Virgin Mary, if they had done it as a gift or present, and not as a sacrifice. Epiphanius then surely was too hasty to condemn them, being informed of nothing, but that they offered a cake unto her. Methinks before he had put them in his catalogue, he should have inquired whether

[a] Ut in nomen Virginis Collyridem quandam sacrificarent. *Epiph. Hær.* 78. Offerunt panem in nomen Mariæ, omnes autem pane participant.

[b] Deo enim ab æterno nullatenus mulier sacrificavit. *Idem Hæres.* 79.

[c] Diaconissarum ordo est in ecclesia, sed non ad sacrificandum; nam neque diaconis concreditum est, ut aliquod mysterium perficiant. *Id. ibid.*

[d] Vid. sup. notam.

[e] Mortuis cultum divinum præstantes. *Id. ibid.* And again: Revera Virgo erat honorata, sed non ad adorationem nobis data, sed ipsa adorans Deum. And again: Non ut adoretur Virgo, nec ut Deum hanc efficeret, &c. Sit in honore Mariæ; Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus S. adoretur, Mariam nemo adoret. Deo debetur hoc mysterium. *Id. ibid.*

[f] Pro Deo hanc introducere statuerant. *Id. ibid.*—Revera sanctum erat Mariæ corpus, non tamen Deus. And again: Mulierem eam appellavit Joh. ii. velut prophetans: et ne aliqui nimium admirati sanctam, in hanc hæresin dilabantur. And again: Non tamen aliter genita est præter hominis naturam, sed sicut omnes ex semine viri et utero mulieris. *Id. ibid.*

they offered this cake as a gift only, or as a sacrifice. Certainly, had the practice of offering to saints by way of gifts been the practice of the church in his time, he would not have been so uncharitable as to condemn that action as impious and heretical, which might have received so lawful and pious a construction. But he, good man, it seems, could not conceive a difference between a sacrifice, and the offering a creature by way of consumption to the honour of that to which it is offered. The subtle wits of our times, I hope, have found out another definition for it, and I shall understand by you what it is. But if you can find no other, then certainly, though setting up a picture, or hanging up a leg, or eye, or ear, in memory of some miraculous cure, obtained by a saint's intercession, would be a gift or present only; yet offering of incense, or burning a taper in the honour of a saint, daub the matter how you will, will be, without question, a sacrifice. If you say that there may be such an offering, and yet no sacrifice; I would know then how you would prove that the Collyridians' offering was indeed a sacrifice? All that Epiphanius says of them is but this, *Panem proponunt et in Mariæ nomen offerunt.* And though this offering of theirs was indeed a sacrifice in the notion of the word, which I have given it, yet doth he not anywhere say expressly, that they did sacrifice, or offer it as a sacrifice; but only and barely, that they did offer it; not using (as good fortune would have it) any word which doth of necessity and properly signify to sacrifice; and therefore you are fain to help the dice, and alter every place for your advantage. Epiphanius says not, as you translate him, *ut in nomen Virginis Collyridem quandam sacrificent;* nor *sacrificantes offerunt,* as Petavius; but ἐπιτελεῖν, which may as well signify *to consecrate* or *offer*, as *to sacrifice,* if there be any

difference between them. So the next place, *Offerunt panem in nomen Mariæ, omnes autem pane participant*, proves not, I hope, offering by way of sacrifice, unless the consumption of the oblation make it a sacrifice; which if it do, how your tapers can be kept from being sacrifices I cannot imagine; unless again perhaps consumption by way of eating will make it a sacrifice, and by burning will not; which cannot be, because the whole burnt offerings were sacrifices as well as any other.

Your third place is, *Deo autem ab æterno nullatenus mulier sacrificavit.* But ἱερατεύω signifies not *to sacrifice*, but only *to perform the office of a priest*; and so Petavius translates the place, *Nunquam sacerdotio functa est mulier.* And though sacrificing be one perhaps, yet will you not say it is the only office of a priest; as your next and last place would have declared, had you set it down faithfully; but in that also you juggle again, and force it to speak to your purpose, thus: *Diaconissarum ordo est in ecclesia, sed non ad sacrificandum:* but Petavius hath translated it truly thus: *Quanquam vero diaconissarum in ecclesia ordo sit, non tamen ad sacerdotii functionem, aut ullam administrationem institutus est.* And now though, by an usual synecdoche, the name of the genus be given to the species; and therefore had a man fairly and candidly translated ἱερατεύω, by *sacrifico*, I should not have much condemned him; yet to do it, when the question is, whether this their offering, confessed to be an offering, were in propriety of speech a sacrifice; to do it for ends, to shift off a convincing argument, to palliate over a foul matter, by putting a verbal difference where there is none indeed, and all that you may *imperitos rerum in fraudem illicere*; that is—But I forbear you.

But secondly, it is pretended "they offered this sacrifice εἰς ὄνομα, in the name of the blessed Virgin, i. e. unto her, herself, directly and terminately as an act of Divine worship and adoration due unto her, as unto a sovereign power and deity." And, to colour and countenance this strange gloss, many places are quoted out of Epiphanius, which I will examine in order as they lie.

The first place is, *mortuis cultum divinum præstantes*, where your meaning is, I believe, that Epiphanius says the Collyridians did so; but the truth is, he says only, *mortuos colentes*, as Petavius translates it; and therefore here once again you help the dice: yet if he had said so, why should you rather from *cultum divinum* collect that, that they thought her God, than from *mortuis*, that they thought her dead, and therefore certainly not a god? Certainly this can be no warrant to you that Epiphanius charges them with so thinking: for protestants, you know, impute to papists, that they give to saints *cultum divinum*, and yet they do not impute to them the heresy of thinking that the saints are sovereign powers and deities: but as St. Paul accuseth the Gentiles, for that, knowing God to be God, they did not worship him as God; so, on the other side, protestants condemn papists, and Epiphanius, for aught we can see hitherto, might condemn the Collyridians, for that, knowing the blessed Virgin not to be God, they yet worshipped her as God: that is, gave her that worship which is God's own peculiar; which yet they might do, not because they thought her God, but because this worship, which was indeed proper to God, they might think not proper, but communicable to such creatures as were high in his favour.

The next place is; *Revera virgo erat honorata, sed*

non ad adorationem nobis data, sed ipsa adorans Deum, &c.

I answer, that the *&c.* perhaps conceals something more pertinent to your purpose, but in the words set down there appears to me just nothing; for I can frame out of them no other syllogism but this:

Whatsoever Epiphanius in this place says is not to be adored, that the Collyridians thought to be God.

But Epiphanius here says the Virgin is not to be adored: *ergo*, the Collyridians thought her God.

Of this syllogism I deny the major proposition, and I believe shall stay as long for a proof of it, as I have done for an answer to some other discourses, which being written in a few days, have waited now with a longing expectation for a promised answer many months. If you say, you would conclude from these words that they did adore her, and therefore thought her God; I have answered already, that they might do this, not because they thought her God, but because they thought creatures, high in God's favour, capable of adoration.

The next place (*Non ut adoretur Virgo, nec ut Deum hanc efficeret*) tells us, that Christ took flesh of the Virgin, not that she should be adored, nor to make her God: and this you think imports that they conceive her God. Yet if I should, condemning your practice of offering tapers to her, use the same words, and say, Christ took flesh of the Virgin, not that she should be adored or to make her God; you would not yet conceive that I charged you with the heresy of believing her God, but only with the impiety of giving to her that worship which was peculiar to God: and why then might not Epiphanius, having like occasion, use the same words to the Collyridians, upon the same and no other ground.

The next place (*Mariam nemo adoret, Deo debetur hoc mysterium*) is so far from proving your imagination, that it strongly confirms my assertion, that Epiphanius did not impute to the Collyridians the opinion, that the Virgin Mary was God. If I should say to a papist, the blessed Virgin is not to be worshipped with the worship of *hyperdulia*, because such worship is due only to the mother of God; would they not say I were mad, and argued against myself, for that they believed she was the mother of God. By like reason, if Epiphanius knew that the Collyridians believed the Virgin Mary to be God, he reasoned as wildly against himself in saying, *Mariam nemo adoret, Deo debetur hoc mysterium.* For it is very true, (might they have said,) this service is due to God alone: but you know our belief and profession that she is God, and therefore by your own rule capable of this worship.

The next place is, *Pro Deo hanc introducere studuerunt.* And may not this be justly said to any man, who to any thing besides God gives that worship which is proper and peculiar unto God? What, if to a man that should teach, "the pope had power to dispense with men for the keeping of God's laws," I should say, *pro Deo papam introducis;* must I of necessity mean that that man did verily believe the pope not a man, but a sovereign power and deity? St. Paul tells us, that *covetousness is idolatry;* he tells us of some, *whose God is their belly;* is it therefore consequent, that every covetous man doth indeed believe his gold, and every glutton his belly, to be indeed a sovereign power and deity? Away with such fopperies. Whosoever loves or fears or trusts in any thing more than God, may yet be justly said to make that his God; and whosoever should worship any creature with that external worship which God has appropriated to himself,

might justly be said to bring in that creature for God. St. Paul tells us of some, *who in words professed God*, yet *factis negabant, in their deeds denied him;* so these, on the contrary, may in their words deny this creature to be God, and in their hearts not think it so; yet seeing their actions to it are as if it were God, they may be justly charged, that with their deeds they make this creature God.

Qui fingit sacros ex auro et marmore vultus,
Non facit ille Deos; qui colit ille facit.

What, if upon consideration of the strangely enormous worship, which papists give to the Virgin Mary, (swearing by her name, making vows unto her, offering tapers to her honour, attributing a kind of communicated omniscience and almost omnipotence to her, as I can easily make good they do, partly out of the offices of their church, partly out of private men's works, but set out with license and approbation,) what, I say, if upon this consideration I should affirm, *pro Deo ipsam introducere conantur;* would it therefore be consequent that I must impute this blasphemy to them, that they believed and taught her to be a sovereign power and deity? I trow not. And therefore Epiphanius might say the same of the Collyridians, considering their action, without any intent of imputing to them any such opinion. This Petavius sure saw well enough, and therefore, (as I shall hereafter demonstrate to the eye,) to countenance his marginal annotation, *Quidam Mariam Deum esse crediderunt*, he cunningly abuses and perverts Epiphanius's text with false translation.—*Sic pugnat, sic est metuendus Ulysses.*

The next place is, *Revera sanctum, erat Mariæ corpus non tamen Deus:* "The body of Mary was truly holy, but not a God." As much to the purpose as, *Tityre, tu patulæ:* for what if Epiphanius say

she is not God, and therefore not to be adored; does it therefore follow that the Collyridians believed she was a God? He that knows logic or sense cannot but know, that he that will confute an adversary's conclusion must choose such principles to do it to which his adversary consents, and out of that which he grants, prove that which he denies; or if his first propositions be not agreed to by his adversary, he must prove them in the end by such as are agreed to, or else he does nothing. And therefore seeing Epiphanius thinks it sufficient for the convincing of the Collyridians of the unlawfulness of the practice, to say, she was not God; it is evident, that so far was he from imputing to them the belief that she was God, that he seems rather to take the contrary for a principle agreed upon between them, which it was sufficient to say, and superfluous to prove. This answer I thought good to make, while I conceived that here Epiphanius had denied the person of the Virgin Mary to be God; but after, upon better consideration, I found that Petavius had abused me with adding to Epiphanius of his own, *Illa fuit*, and that Epiphanius says not here, *non tamen Deus*, ("she was not God,") of her person, but of her body; and as yet I do not understand that you impute to the Collyridians the belief that her body was God.

The next place (*Mulierem eam appellavit*, &c.) says no more but this; that our Saviour calls the blessed Virgin, *woman*, that no man might think her any thing more than a woman, as it were prophetically refuting the schisms and heresies which would be in the world; lest some, out of excess of admiration of her, might fall into the dotage of this heresy. Thus far Epiphanius: but then the question will be, what was this heresy? You say, the belief that she was God. I say, not

that she was God, but that they might lawfully offer to her. And as I deny not but it follows, She is a woman, therefore not a God; so I think you will grant it follows as justly, She is a woman, therefore not to be adored with offerings. And therefore seeing the words lie indifferently between us, and are not expressly and especially here applied for the refutation of that heresy which you pretend they were guilty of, I see no reason why Epiphanius might not as well intend them for that purpose which I conceive, as for that which you conceive.

The last place alleged tells us, "that she was begotten and born as other men and women are:" which, if the Collyridians had thought her God, eternal and absolutely without beginning, should not have been barely said but proved, as being in effect the very point in question; and therefore, seeing Epiphanius contents himself with saying so without proof, it is evident he never thought they would make difficulty to grant it, and consequently, that they did not believe her to be God eternal.

But then again, if the rule be good which part of our proofs depend upon, that whatever Epiphanius denies in this discourse, that the Collyridians held (for upon that ground from—*Non ut Deum hanc efficeret, et non tamen Deus,* you conclude they believed her God); if, I say, this rule be good, then you should be constant to it; and now that he says, *Non tamen aliter genita est præter hominum naturam,* ("she was not begotten in a different way from other men,") you should infer, that they believed not that she was God, but that she was otherwise born and begotten than the ordinary sort of men. And so whereas he says before, *Non tamen corpus de cœlo tulit* ("her body was not from heaven"), you should infer, that they believed her

body came from heaven. And again, from those—*Sanctum erat Mariæ corpus, non tamen Deus*—you should collect, that they thought not only her person, but her body, to be God; or if these be wild and weak deductions, then you must acknowledge that I have done yours some favour in vouchsafing them a particular answer.

5. *Demand.* Whether in the church of Rome it be not an approved and perpetually practised worship of the blessed Virgin, that incense (which was never anciently offered unto any, either by Jews or Gentiles, but to the true, or to a supposed true God) and tapers, and divers other oblations, should be offered to her honour?

Answ. A practice of the church of Rome, and approved too by those that practise it, belongs not to her, except it be a practice of the church, and approved by her. What her practice is abroad, I know not; here at home I see no such practice; nor do I know any approbation of it in any of her public declarations: but this I know, that there is nothing in it unlawful, or savouring of the Collyridian superstition, to offer wax tapers, or any other thing, to the memory of the blessed Virgin, or any other canonized saint, either as means to procure their intercession, by these outward signs of the honour and devotion which they bear to them, (as of old we find by St. Austin[f] they did use to adorn their tombs with flowers,) or as monuments of

[f] Ad aquas Tibilotanas Episcopo offerente projecto, reliquias martyris gloriosissimi Stephani, ad ejus memoriam veniebat magnæ multitudinis concursus et occursus: ibi cæca mulier, ut ad episcopum portantem pignora sacra duceretur, oravit: flores, quos ferebat, dedit; recepit, oculis admovet, protinus vidit. *August. de Civit. Dei*, l. 22. c. 8. Abscedens aliquid de altari (S. Stephani) florum, quod occurrit, tulit. *Idem ibid.* &c.

their thankfulness for some benefits received by their intercession, as Theodoret[g] tells us of eyes, and ears, and hands, some of silver, (hung up in the chapels of the saints,) that had been presented as oblations by those that had recovered health in those members, according to their vows made to that purpose in time of sickness.

Reply. I do not deny but a practice may be tolerated in a church, and not approved; as the public stews are in Italy, and usury in England: but it is one thing to tolerate with condemnation, another to tolerate without condemnation, nay, with condemnation of those that should oppose or condemn it. And such, I doubt not, upon examination, you may find in this practice, general in the church of Rome, offering tapers to the saints, and for their honour: I say, not only to God, at the memories of the saints, as you would mince the matter, which yet were a groundless superstition, (God having appointed no such sacrifice to be offered to him under the gospel,) but to the saints themselves, and to their honour. Prove this lawful for either of those purposes you mention, either to procure their intercession, or as monuments of thankfulness for benefits obtained by it, and then you shall do something. Otherwise you will but trifle, as now you have done: for instead of telling us what may be done *de jure*, you tell us what of old has been done *de facto*. As if *ab antiquo* and *a principio* were all one; or as if the church (as we pretend) being subject to corruption, part of this corruption might not possibly have come in St. Austin's or Theodoret's time: yet this I say, not as if I would decline the trial of this cause by St. Austin or Theodoret; but because I am sure you will not be tried by

[g] Theodoretus de curandis affect. *Græc.* l. 8.

the Fathers, no, not the consent of Fathers in all things; and therefore there is no reason nor equity in the world that you should serve yourselves with their authority in any thing.

But now what is it which was done in St. Austin's time that may justify the practice of the Roman church? Was there then any approved offering of wax tapers and incense to the queen of heaven, or any other saint? *Nil horum:* you neither do nor can produce any thing out of St. Austin to this purpose. But what then is it? Why forsooth they were used to adorn their tombs: *Egregiam vero laudem et spolia ampla:* of old in St. Austin's time they were used to adorn their tombs with flowers, therefore we may offer tapers to them. Truly an excellent enthymeme; but I fear the concealed proposition, which should make it a syllogism, hides its head for shame, and dares not appear; yet we will for once make bold to draw it forth into light, that you may look upon it, and tell us how you like it. This therefore it is:

"Whose soever tombs we adorn, to them and to their honour we may offer wax tapers."

Consider it, I pray you, and if you approve it, then approve also of offering tapers, not only to canonized saints, but to all Christians that may have monuments in churches. For all their tombs may be adorned with more precious and lasting ornaments than flowers; yet if you had proved but this only, that in St. Austin's time they adorned the saints' tombs with flowers, by these outward signs to procure their intercession; this, though not much to the purpose, had been not absolutely to delude us. But your quoted places prove not so much as this; and yet I believe you quoted the best you could find. Nay, they prove not that they did adorn their tombs with flowers at all,

much less that they did it for your pretended purpose; such fools you think to deal with, that will take any thing for any thing. Your first place, I say, proves it not, unless out of mere courtesy we understand by *ferebat*, "she brought to adorn St. Stephen's tomb."

The second proves it not, unless we give you leave after *altari* (without warrant from St. Austin) to put in *S. Stephani;* whereas I am yet to seek for any place in St. Austin where he calls any altar the altar of such or such a saint; which yet, I think, they forbore, not for the unlawfulness, but for fear of misconstruction.

Then for Theodoret, he tells us indeed of vows made, of monuments of thankfulness dedicated for benefits obtained by the intercession of the martyrs. But here also I fear your conscience tells you that you abuse us, and hide yourself in ambiguities. For to whom does Theodoret say these vows were made? To whom were these monuments of thankfulness dedicated? What, to the author or procurers of the received favours? To God, or to the martyrs? If to the martyrs, that had been something towards, though not home to your purpose: for there is a wide difference between offering of a creature by way of consumption, (as was never lawfully done but to God alone, as a profession that he is Lord of the creature,) and erecting a permanent monument to a saint's honour; which I doubt not but it may lawfully be done to a living saint, much more to the memory of a martyr. But Theodoret in the place hath not so much as this: nay, it is evident that these gifts he speaks of were both vowed and paid to God himself. His words are, *Pie precatos ea consequi*, &c. that they which pray piously, obtain the things which they desire; they paying of their vowed presents in the

sign of their recovered health, doth abundantly testify. For their Lord accepts most graciously these presents, how mean soever.

6. *Demand.* Whether, according to the doctrine of the Roman church, this may not be done lawfully by women and children, and men that are not priests?

Answ. They may offer any thing by way of gifts and presents, by the doctrine of the Roman church; but it is contrary to the Roman doctrine for any other than priests to offer any thing by way of sacrifice, as the Collyridians did.

Reply. Aristotle says most truly, that true definitions (he means, I think, of the terms of the conclusion to be demonstrated) are the best principles of science; and therefore want of them must needs be a cause of error and confusion in any discourse. Let me therefore here request you to set down what is a sacrifice, and how distinguished from an oblation by way of gift or present, and you will quickly see, that if the Collyridians offering a cake to the blessed Virgin were indeed a sacrifice, your offering a taper to her must likewise be so: for a sacrifice is nothing else (for aught I know) but the oblation of any creature by way of consumption, to the honour of that, whatsoever it is, to which it is offered. For if you include in the definition, that this offering must be intended to the highest Lord of all; so is, as you pretend, your offering of tapers to the blessed Virgin, intended to God finally, though not immediately: if you say it must be directed immediately to him, and is not only no lawful sacrifice, but simply no sacrifice unless it be so; I say, you may as well require to the essence of a sacrifice, that it be offered by a priest, and from thence conclude, because the Collyridians were, you say, no priests, their offer-

ing was no sacrifice. For the object of the action is as extrinsical to the essence of it, as the efficient; and therefore, if the defect of a due and legitimate offerer cannot hinder but that an offering may be a true sacrifice, neither will the want of a due and lawful object be any hinderance, but still it may be so. Secondly, I say, this is to confound the essence of things with the lawful use of them; in effect as if you should say, that a knife, if misemployed, were a knife no longer. Thirdly, it is to make it not unlawful to offer incense (which yet you seem somewhat scrupulous of) or burnt-offerings to the Virgin Mary, or the saints, or even to living men, provided you know and believe and profess them to be men and not gods. For this once supposed, these offerings will be no longer sacrifices; and to offer to creatures offerings that are not sacrifices, you say, by the doctrine of the Roman church, is lawful. It is, lastly, to deny (which is most ridiculous) that the pagans did indeed sacrifice to any of their inferior gods.

7. *Demand.* If it be said, that this worship which they give to the blessed Virgin is not that of *latria*, but that of *dulia* or *hyperdulia*, for that they do not esteem her God; or if it be said, that their worship to her is not finally terminated neither, but given her for her relation to Christ; I demand, whether, as it is in St. Paul's judgment a great crime for him that knows God, not to worship him as God, so it be not as great a crime for him that knows her not to be God, yet to worship her (as if she were God) with the worship which is proper, and hath been always appropriated to God alone? Such is the worship of oblations.

Answ. The worship of oblations, as worship is taken largely for honour, and oblations for a gift or present, was never appropriate to God alone: take worship

and oblations in any higher sense, and so it is not allowed in the church of Rome.

Reply. The oblation of things by way of consumption is the worship I spoke of: this is a higher matter than that of gifts and presents, and this is allowed in the church of Rome to be employed on and directed unto (though not terminated in) the Virgin Mary and other saints.

8. *Demand.* Whether any thing can be said for the justifying the doctrine and practice of the Roman church in this matter, which might not also have been as justly pretended for the justification of the Collyridians in their opinion and practice; seeing it was never imputed to them, that they accounted the blessed Virgin God, or that they believed in more gods than one; and seeing their choosing her out, rather than any other woman, or any other creature, for the object of their devotion, shews plainly that they gave it her for her relation to Christ?

Answ. The Collyridians could not say this, as appears by what has been said before: and it is a most shameless slander upon God's church, and such as (without repentance) will lie heavy upon his soul that uttered it, that the Collyridians might as justly and truly have said all this for themselves, as papists for themselves.

Reply. To this I reply four things. 1. That to my last and most convincing reason you have answered (as much as you could, I believe, but yet you have answered) nothing; and I am well content you should do so; for where nothing is to be had, the king himself must lose his right. 2. That if I had thought or spoke better of the Collyridians than they deserved, yet I cannot see how this had been to slander the church of Rome. 3. That I did not positively affirm

that the Collyridians might do so, but desired only it might be inquired into and examined, whether, for the reasons alleged, they might not do so. 4. And lastly, upon a thorough examination of the matter, I do now affirm, what before I did not, that the Collyridians, for aught appears to the contrary, might justly and truly have said, for the justification of their practice, as much, nay, the very same things, that the papists do for theirs. For they might have said, We are Christians, and believe the scripture, and believe there is but one God. We offer not to the blessed Virgin, as believing she is God, but the mother of God; our worship of her is not absolute but relative, not terminated in her, but given to her for her Son's sake: and if our practice may be allowed, we are content to call our oblation not a sacrifice, but a present; neither is there any reason why it should be called a sacrifice, more than the offering and burning a taper to the honour of the same Virgin. All this the Collyridians might have said for themselves; and therefore, I believe, you will have more cause to repent you for daubing over impiety with untempered mortar, than I shall have for slandering the Roman church with a matter of truth.

9. *Demand.* Whether therefore one of the two must not of necessity follow: that either the ancient church erred, in condemning the opinion and practice of the Collyridians as heretical; or else that the church of Rome errs, in approving the same opinion, and the same practice in effect, which in them was condemned? that is, whether the church of Rome must not be heretical with the Collyridians, or else the Collyridians catholics with the church of Rome?

Answ. It appears by the former answers, that neither did the ancient church err in condemning the opinion and practice of the Collyridians as heretical, nor doth

the church of Rome approve the same opinion or the same practice.

Reply. The substance of the former answers is but this: that the papists offer to the Virgin Mary, and other saints, wax tapers by way of gift or present, not of sacrifice; and to her, not as to a god, but as the mother of God; but that the Collyridians offered to her by way of sacrifice, as to a sovereign power and deity. To this I have replied and proved, that it no way appears that the Collyridians did believe the blessed Virgin to be a sovereign power and deity, or that she was not subordinate to God. Then, that their offering might be called a gift as well as the papists', and the papists' a sacrifice as well as theirs; both of them being a consumption of a creature in honour of the blessed Virgin, and neither of them more than so; and therefore, either the Collyridians must stand with the church of Rome, or the church of Rome fall with the Collyridians. It had been perhaps sufficient for me thus to have vindicated my assertion from contrary objections, without taking on myself the burden of proving a negative; yet to free from all doubt the conformity of the Roman church with the Collyridians in this point, I think it will be necessary to shew, and that by many very probable arguments, that Epiphanius did not impute to them the pretended heresy of believing the Virgin Mary God; for then that other evasion, that their oblation was a sacrifice, and the papists' is not, together with this pretence, will of itself fall to the ground.

Now an opinion may be imputed to a man two ways; either because he holds and maintains it expressly and formally and in terms, or because it may by a rational deduction be collected from some other opinion which he does hold: in this latter sense, I

deny not but Epiphanius might impute this opinion we speak of to the Collyridians, as a consequence upon their practice, which practice they esteemed lawful; but that they held it and owned it formally, and in terms, this, I say, Epiphanius does not impute to them; which I think for these seven reasons.

My first reason is, because he could not justly do so, and therefore without evident proof we may not say he did so; for this were to be uncharitable to him, in making him uncharitable to others. Now I say he could not justly charge them with this opinion, because he was not informed of any such opinion that they held, but only of their practice, and this practice was no sufficient proof that they held this opinion. That his information reached no further than their practice, appears out of his own words: "I have heard" (saith he, *Hæres.* 78.) "another thing with great astonishment, that some, being madly affected to the blessed Virgin, endeavour to bring her in in God's place, being mad and beside themselves: for they report, that certain women in Arabia have devised this vanity, to have meetings, and offer a cake to the blessed Virgin." The same practice he sets down, *Hæres.* 79. But that he was informed of any such opinion that they held, he has not a word or syllable to any such purpose; and yet if he had been informed of any, here had been the place to set it down; which certainly, writing his book rather of heretical opinions than practices, he would not have omitted to do, if there had been occasion: his silence therefore is a sufficient argument that he was not informed of any such opinion that they held.

Now that their practice was no assurance that they held this opinion, it is manifest; because they might ground it, not upon this opinion, that she was God, but upon another as false, though not altogether so

impious, that the worship of oblations was not proper to God alone. And therefore, though Epiphanius might think or fear that possibly they might ground their practice upon that other impious opinion, and therefore out of abundant caution confute that also, as he doth obliquely and in a word, and once only in all his long discourse, by telling them that our Saviour called her *woman;* yet he had no ground from their practice to assure himself that certainly they did hold so. Nay, justice and reason and charity would, that he should incline himself to believe that they grounded their practice upon that other opinion, which had less impiety in it; that is, that this worship of oblations was not proper to God, but communicable to creatures high in his favour.

My second is, because, if Epiphanius had known that these Collyridians held the blessed Virgin to be a supreme power and deity, this being a far greater matter than offering a cake to her, should in all probability rather have given them their denomination; at least when he sets down what their heresy was, he would have made this part of it, that they did believe so: but to the contrary, in his *Anacephalæosis*, p. 130, he thus describes them: "They that offer to the name of the blessed Virgin cakes, who are called Collyridians." And again, p. 105, "They that offer to the blessed Virgin cakes, who are called Collyridians:" so to the seventy-ninth heresy he gives this title, "Against the Collyridians, who offer to Mary:" so *Hæres.* 78 and 79, he sets down what he heard of them; but nowhere that they held this opinion of her. I conclude, therefore, that he never conceived this opinion to be a part of their heresy, and they were no further chargeable with it, than as a probable consequent upon their practice.

My third is, because, had the Collyridians held her God, they would have worshipped her all the year long, and not only once a year at a solemn time, as Epiphanius says they did.

My fourth is, because, if Epiphanius had known that they held her God, he would questionless have urged them with those attributes that are given to God in scripture, as eternity, immortality, impassibility, omnipotence, &c. and shewed them, that if they believed the scripture, they could not think of her any of those things; if they did not, they had no reason to think of her any thing more than of an ordinary woman.

My fifth is, because, had their opinion been that the blessed Virgin was God, a great part of Epiphanius's discourse were plainly ridiculous; both where he says only without proof, she was not a God, but a mortal creature, which to them that held the contrary should not have been said, but proved; but especially where he speaks to this purpose, (as he does very frequently,) that the honour of oblations was not to be given to angels or men, much less to women, but only to God: for what had that been to the Collyridians, if they thought her (as is pretended) a sovereign power and deity? To what purpose was it for Epiphanius to ask, *Quis propheta?* "What prophet ever permitted that a man, much less a woman, should be adored, though he be yet alive? Nor John, nor Tecla, nor any other saint. For neither shall the old superstition have dominion over us, that, leaving the living God, we should adore his creatures:" to what end, I say, was all this, if they thought her not a saint, nor creature, but God himself, and the Lord of all? How did this argument touch them? *Ne angelos quidem*; "He suffers not the very angels to be adored, how much less the daughter of Anna." If they thought her not the

daughter of Anna, but God eternal, in vain had it been to say to them, "Not to a woman, no nor to a man, but to God alone is this mystery (of oblation) due." So that the angels themselves are not fit subjects for such an honour. Or again: "Let the creature be turned to the Creator: let shame at length compel you to worship God alone." Or lastly, that so often repeated, "Let Mary be honoured, but the Lord only adored." For they might have answered all this in a word, saying, All this discourse sits beside the cushion, and concerns us and our offerings nothing at all: for we believe the blessed Virgin, to whom we offer, neither man, nor woman, nor angel, nor creature, but a deity.

A sixth reason let it be this: If Epiphanius did indeed say of the Collyridians, as is pretended, that they held the Virgin Mary God, and so difference their practice from the papists; then the author of this answer, and Petavius in his translation, needed not to have dictated to him what he should say, nor make him say so, whether he will or no: but it is evident they do so, as of the author of this answer I have already shewn; and for Petavius his part, I will so present it to your view, that if you will not shut your eyes, you shall not choose but see it.

First then, *Hæres.* 78. *prope finem*, he (Petavius) sets in his margin, *quidam Deum Mariam esse crediderunt;* and to countenance this with a *loquuntur* of his own putting in, makes them speak of her like madmen, i. e. they said she was God; whereas in Epiphanius's Greek they say just nothing.

Secondly, To fasten the pretended opinion on them, he translates κενοφώνημα, *novum dogma;* presuming, it seems, κενοφώνημα would easily be mistaken for καινοφώνημα; and therefore means nothing by it but a vanity or folly.

Thirdly, he translates τοῦτογε, *illud;* and so makes it look backward to that pretended *novum dogma* of the Collyridians; whereas it signifies there *and*, and looks forward to their practice.

Fourthly, with the help of a colon, he stops the sense at *commentas fuisse;* whereas in Epiphanius there is but a comma, and the sense goes on without suspension.

Fifthly, with an *adeo ut*, he brings in their action as an effect of their former opinion; whereas Epiphanius lays nothing to their charge but their action only: so that whereas Epiphanius's words truly translated run thus—"Another thing I have received with great astonishment, that others being mad concerning the blessed Virgin, have and do go about to bring her in in the place of God; being mad, I say, and beside themselves; for they report, that certain women in Arabia have brought this vanity of offering a cake to her name;" Petavius makes them thus—"Not without admiration we have heard another thing, that some, in these things that concern the most holy Virgin, have proceeded to that degree of madness, that they would obtrude her upon us for a god, and speak of her as madmen: for they report, that certain women in Arabia have invented that new opinion; so that to the Virgin's name and honour they offer by way of sacrifice a cake or wreath of bread."

Again in the same *Hæres.* ἱερουργεῖν διὰ γυναικῶν he translates advantageously, *per mulieres sacrificia facere.* Whereas ἱερουργεῖν is more general than *sacrificia facere*, and signifies *sacris operari*, or *sacros ritus peragere.*

Again, in the same place, whereas Epiphanius says simply and absolutely, "Let no man offer to her name;" he makes it, "Let no man offer sacrifice to her name;"

as if you might lawfully offer any thing, provided you do not call it a sacrifice.

So again, *Hæres.* 79, besides his putting cunningly *ipsa fuit*, which before we took notice of, he makes no scruple to put in *dogma* and *sacrificium*, wheresoever it may be for his purpose. Epiphanius's title to this heresy is, "Against the Collyridians, who offer to Mary;" Petavius puts in "sacrifice."

Again, in the same page, before D, he puts in his own *illo dogmate;* and whereas Epiphanius says, "in all this," he makes it, "in all this opinion."

Page 1061. τὸ θηλυτῆς ὑπονοιᾶς, he translates, "this womanish opinion;" whereas ὑπόνοια, though perhaps it may signify *a thought*, or act of thinking, yet I believe it never signifies *an opinion* which we hold.

Ibid. at B, τοιοῦτο, "this," he renders "this opinion."

Page 1064, at C, "Nor that we should offer to her name," simply and absolutely; he makes it, "Nor that we should offer sacrifice to her name." So many times is he fain to corrupt and translate him partially, lest in condemning the Collyridians he might seem to have involved the practice of the Roman church in the same condemnation.

My seventh and last reason is this: had Epiphanius known that the Collyridians held the Virgin Mary to be a sovereign power and deity, then he could not have doubted whether this their offering was to her, or to God for her; whereof yet he seems doubtful, and not fully resolved, as his own words intimate, *Hæres.* 79. *ad fin. Quam multa*, &c. "How many things may be objected against this heresy! For idle women, either worshipping the blessed Virgin, offer unto her a cake, or else they take upon them to offer for her this foresaid ridiculous oblation. Now both are foolish, and from the Devil."

These arguments, I suppose, do abundantly demonstrate to any man not veiled with prejudice, that Epiphanius imputed not to the Collyridians the heresy of believing the Virgin Mary God; and if they did not think her God, there is then no reason imaginable why their oblation of a cake should not be thought a present, as well as the papists offering a taper; or that the papists offering a taper, should not be thought a sacrifice, as well as their offering a cake; and seeing this was the difference pretended between them, this being vanished, there remains none at all: so that my first conclusion stands yet firm; that either the ancient church erred in condemning the Collyridians, or the present errs in approving and practising the same worship.

IV. *An Argument drawn from the admitting Infants to the Eucharist, as without which they could not be saved, against the Church's Infallibility.*

THE condition, without the performance whereof no man can be admitted to the communion of the church of Rome, is this; that he believe firmly, and without doubting, whatsoever the church requires him to believe. More distinctly and particularly thus:

He must believe all that to be Divine revelation, which that church teaches to be such: as, the doctrine of the Trinity; the hypostatical union of two natures in the person of Christ; the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son; the doctrine of transubstantiation; and such like.

Whatsoever that church teaches to be necessary, he must believe to be necessary: as baptism for infants; faith in Christ, for those that are capable of faith; pen-

ance for those that have committed mortal sin after baptism, &c.

Whatsoever that church declares expedient and profitable, he must believe to be expedient and profitable: as, monastical life; prayer to saints; prayer for the dead; going on pilgrimages; the use of pardons; veneration of holy images and relics; Latin service, where the people understand it not; communicating the laity in one kind; and such like.

Whatsoever that church holdeth lawful, he must believe lawful: as, to marry; to make distinction of meats, as if some were clean and others unclean; to fly in time of persecution; for them that serve at the altar, to live by the altar; to testify a truth by oath, when a lawful magistrate shall require it; to possess riches; &c.

Now it is impossible that any man should certainly believe any thing, unless either it be evident of itself, or he have some certain reason (at least some supposed certain reason) and infallible ground for his belief. Now the doctrines which the church of Rome teacheth, it is evident and undeniable that they are not evident of themselves, neither evidently true, nor evidently credible. He therefore that will believe them, must of necessity have some certain and infallible ground whereon to build his belief of them.

There is no other ground for a man's belief of them, especially in many points, but only an assurance of the infallibility of the church of Rome. No man can be assured that that church is infallible, and cannot err, whereof he may be assured that she hath erred, unless she had some new promise of Divine assistance, which might for the future secure her from danger of erring; but the church of Rome pretends to none such.

Nothing is more certain than that that church hath

erred, which hath believed and taught irreconcilable contradictions, one whereof must of necessity be an error.

That the receiving the sacrament of the eucharist is necessary for infants, and that the receiving thereof is not necessary for them—that it is the will of God that the church should administer the sacrament to them, and that it is not the will of God that the church should do so—are manifest and irreconcilable contradictions; supposing only (that which is most evident) that the eucharist is the same thing, of the same virtue and efficacy now, as it was in the primitive church; that infants are the same things they were, have as much need, are capable of as much benefit by the eucharist now, as then; as subject to irreverent carriages then, as now; and lastly, that the present church is as much bound to provide for the spiritual good of infants as the ancient church was: I say, these things supposed, the propositions before set down are plain and irreconcilable contradictions; whereof the present Roman church doth hold the negative, and the ancient church of Rome did hold the affirmative: and therefore it is evident, that either the present church doth err, in holding something not necessary, which is so; or that the ancient church did err, in holding something necessary which was not so.

For the negative proposition, viz. That the eucharist is not necessary for infants; that it is the doctrine of the present church of Rome, it is most manifest, first, from the disuse, and abolition, and prohibition of the contrary ancient practice. For if the church did conceive it necessary for them, either simply for their salvation, or else for their increase or confirmation in grace, and advancement to a higher degree of glory, (unless she could supply some other way their damage

in this thing, which evidently she cannot,) what an uncharitable sacrilege is it, to debar and defraud them of the necessary means of their so great spiritual benefit! especially seeing the administration of it might be so ordered, that irreverent casualties might easily be prevented; which yet, should they fall out against the church's and pastor's intention, certainly could not offend God, and in reason should not offend man. Or if the church do believe, that upon such a vain fear of irreverence (which we see moved not the ancient church at all) she may lawfully forbid such a general, perpetual, and necessary charity, certainly herein she commits a far greater error than the former. Secondly, from the council of Trent's anathema, denounced on all that hold the contrary, in these words: "If any man say, that the receiving of the eucharist is necessary for little children, before they come to years of discretion, let him be anathema." Concil. Trid. Sess. 21. *De communione parvulorum*, Cant. 4.

Now for the affirmative part of the contradiction, to make it evident that that was the doctrine of the ancient church, I will prove it, first, from the general practice of the ancient church for several ages; secondly, by the direct and formal testimonies of the Fathers of those times; thirdly, by the confession of the most learned antiquaries of the Roman church. My first argument I form thus: If to communicate infants was the general practice of the ancient church for many ages, then certainly the church then believed that the eucharist was necessary for them, and very available for their spiritual benefit; but it is certain that the communicating of infants was the general practice of the church for many ages; therefore the church of those times thought it necessary for them. To deny the consequence of the proposition is to charge

the church with extreme folly, wilful superstition, and perpetual profanation of the blessed sacrament. As for the assumption, it is fully confirmed by Clemens Rom. *Constit. Apost.* l. 3. c. 20: Dionysius Areopagita, *De Eccles. Hierar.* cap. ult.: S. Cyprian, and a council of African bishops with him, Ep. 59. *ad Fidum*; and in his treatise *De lapsis*, p. 137. edit. Pamel.: Paulinus, bishop of Nola in Italy, an. 353. in Ep. 12. *ad Senem:* out of *Ordo Romanus*, cited by Alcuinus, S. Bede's scholar, and master to Charlemagne, in his book *De Divinis Officiis*, cap. *de Sab. Sancto Pasc.: Gennadius Massiliensis De Eccles. Dogmatibus*, c. 52: *Concil. Toletanum*, 2 Can. 11. It continued in the western church unto the days of Lewis the Debonnaire, witness Cardinal Perron, *Des Passages de S. Austin*, p. 100. Some footsteps of it remained there in the time of Hugo de S. Victore, as you may see, lib. 1. *De Sacram. et Cerem.* cap. 20. It was the practice of the church of the Armenians in Waldensis his time, as he relates out of Guido the Carmelite, tom. 2. *De Sacr.* c. 91. *De Erroribus Armenorum.* It is still in force in the church of the Abyssines; witness Franc. Alvarez, *Hist. Æthiop.* c. 22. and *Thomas a Jesu de procuranda Salute omnium Gentium.* It has continued without any interruption in the Greek church unto this present age; as may be evidently gathered out of Lyranus in c. vi. John; Arcudius, l. 1. c. 14. et l. 3. c. 40; *De Concord. Eccles. Orient. et Occident. in Sacram. Administratione;* Card. Perron, *Des Passages de S. Austin*, p. 100, where he also assures us of the primitive church in general, that she gave infants the eucharist as soon as they were baptized; and that the custom of giving this sacrament to little infants the church then observed; and before, p. 21, that in those ages it was always given to infants together with baptism.

The same is likewise acknowledged by Contzen in John vi. 54, and by *Thomas a Jesu de procuranda Salute omnium Gentium.* So that this matter of the practice of the ancient church is sufficiently cleared. Seeing therefore the ancient church did use this custom, and could have no other ground for it but their belief that this sacrament was necessary for infants, it follows necessarily that the church then did believe it necessary.

But deductions, though never so evident, are superfluous, and may be set aside, where there is such abundance of direct and formal authentical testimonies; whereof some speak *in thesi*, of the necessity of the eucharist for all men, others *in hypothesi*, of the necessity of it for infants.

My second argument, from the testimonies of the Fathers of those times, I form thus: That doctrine in the affirmative whereof the most eminent Fathers of the ancient church agree, and which none of their contemporaries have opposed or condemned, ought to be taken for the catholic doctrine[a] of the church of those times: but the most eminent Fathers of the ancient church agree in the affirmation of this doctrine, that the eucharist is necessary for infants, and none of their contemporaries have opposed or condemned it: *ergo*, it ought to be taken for the catholic doctrine of the church of their times. The major of this syllogism

[a] The reader, when he meets with the phrase *catholic doctrine* in this and the following discourse, must remember that it does not signify *articles of faith* determined in any general councils, which might be looked upon as the faith of the whole church; but the current and common opinion of the age, which obtained in it without any known opposition and contradiction. Neither need this be wondered at, since they are about matters far removed from the common faith of Christians, and having no necessary influence upon good life and manners, whatsoever necessity, by mistake of some scriptures, might be put upon them.

is delivered and fully proved by cardinal Perron, in his letter to Casaubon, 5 obs., and is indeed so reasonable a postulate, that none but a contentious spirit can reject it.

For confirmation of the minor, I will allege, first, their sentences which *in thesi* affirm the eucharist to be generally necessary for all, and therefore for infants; and then their suffrages who *in hypothesi* avouch the necessity of it for infants.

The most pregnant testimonies of the first rank are these: of Irenæus, lib. 4. *cont. Hæres.* c. 34, where he makes our union to Christ by the eucharist the foundation of the hope of our resurrection, in these words: "As the bread of earth, after the invocation of God, is now not common bread, but the eucharist, consisting of two things, an earthly and an heavenly; so our bodies receiving the eucharist, are not now corruptible (for ever), but have hope of resurrection." The like he hath, lib. 5. c. 2. And hence in probability it is that the Nicene council styled this sacrament *symbolum resurrectionis*, "the pledge of our resurrection:" and Ignatius, Ep. ad Eph. *pharmacum immortalitatis*, "the medicine of immortality."

Cyril. Alex. lib. 4. in Joan. "They shall never partake, nor so much as taste the life of holiness and happiness, which receive not the Son in the mystical benediction." Cyril. lib. 10. in Joan. c. 13. and lib. 11. c. 27. "This corruptible nature of our body could not otherwise be brought to life and immortality, unless this body of natural life were conjoined to it." The very same things saith Gregory Nyssen. *Orat. Catech.* c. 37. And that they both speak of our conjunction with Christ by the eucharist, the antecedents and consequents do fully manifest, and it is a thing confessed by learned catholics.

Cyprian, *De Cœna Domini*, and Tertullian, *De Resur. Carnis*, speak to the same purpose: but I have not their books by me, and therefore cannot set down their words. St. Chrysostom, Hom. 47. in Joh. on these words, *Nisi manducaveritis*, has many pregnant and plain speeches to our purpose: as, "The words here spoken are very terrible: *Verily*, saith he, *if a man eat not my flesh, and drink not my blood, he hath no life in him:* for whereas they said before, this could not be done, he shews it not only not impossible, but also very necessary." And a little after: "He often iterates his speech concerning the holy mysteries, shewing the necessity of the thing, and that by all means it must be done." And again: "What means that which he says, *My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed?* Either that this is the true meat that saves the soul, or to confirm them in the faith of what he had spoken, that they should not think he spoke enigmatically or parabolically, but know, that by all means they must eat his body."

But most clear and unanswerable is that place, lib. 3. *De sacerdotio*, where he saith, "If a man cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven, unless he be born again of water and the Holy Spirit; and if he which eats not the flesh of our Lord, and drinks not his blood, is cast out of eternal life; and all these things cannot be done by any other, but only by those holy hands, the hands, I say, of the priest; how then, without their help, can any man either avoid the fire of hell, or obtain the crowns laid up for us?"

Theophylact. in vi. Joan. "When therefore we hear, that *unless we eat the flesh of the Son of Man, we cannot have life*, we must have faith without doubting in the receiving of the Divine mysteries, and never inquire how: for the natural man, that is, he which

followeth human, that is, natural reasons, receives not the things which are above nature, and spiritual; as also he understands not the spiritual meat of the flesh of our Lord, which they that receive not shall not be partakers of eternal life, as not receiving Jesus, who is the true life." St. Austin, *De Pec. Mor. et Remis.* c. 24: "Very well do the puny Christians call baptism nothing else but salvation, and the sacrament of Christ's body nothing else but life. From whence should this be, but, as I believe, from the ancient and apostolical tradition, by which this doctrine is implanted into the churches of Christ, that only by baptism and the participation of the Lord's table any man can attain either to the kingdom of God, or to salvation, or to eternal life."

Now we are taught by the learned cardinal, that when the Fathers speak not as doctors, but as witnesses of the customs of the church of their times; and do not say, "I believe this should be so holden, or so understood, or so observed; but that the church from one end of the earth to the other believes it so, or observes it so;" then we no longer hold what they say for a thing said by them, but as a thing said by the whole church; and principally when it is in points whereof they could not be ignorant, either because of the condition of the things, as in matters of fact; or because of the sufficiency of the persons: and in this case we argue no more upon their words probably, as we do when they speak in the quality of particular doctors, but we argue thereupon demonstratively.

For example: St. Austin, the sufficientest person which the church of his time had, speaking of a point wherein he could not be ignorant, says; "Not that I believe the eucharist to be necessary to salvation; but

the churches of Christ believe so, and have received this doctrine from apostolical tradition:" therefore I argue upon his words not probably, but demonstratively, that this was the catholic doctrine of the church of his time. And thus much for the thesis, "That the eucharist was held generally necessary for all." Now for the hypothesis, "That the eucharist was held necessary for infants in particular." Witnesses hereof are St. Cyprian, pope Innocentius I, and Eusebius Emissenus, with St. Austin, together with the author of the book, entitled, *Hypognostica.*

Cyprian indeed does not in terms affirm it, but we have a very clear intimation of it in his Epistle to Fidus. For whereas he, and a council of bishops together with him, had ordered, that infants might be baptized and sacrificed, that is, communicated, before the eighth day, though that were the day appointed for circumcision by the old law; there he sets down this as the reason of their decree, "That the mercy and grace of God was to be denied to no man."

Pope Innocent the First, in *Ep. ad Episc. Conc. Milev. quæ est inter August.* 93. concludes against the Pelagians, that infants could not attain eternal life without baptism, because without baptism they were incapable of the eucharist, and without the eucharist could not have eternal life. His words are: "But that which your fraternity affirms them to preach, that infants without the grace of baptism may have the rewards of eternal life, is certainly most foolish; for *unless they eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, they shall have no life in them.*"

Now that this sense which I have given his words is indeed the true sense of them, and that his judgment upon the point was as I have said, it is acknowledged by Maldonate in Joan. vi. 54; by Binnius upon the

councils, tom. i. p. 624; by Sanctesius, Repet. 6. c. 7; and it is affirmed by S. Austin, who was his contemporary, held correspondence by letters with him, and therefore in all probability could not be ignorant of his meaning. I say, he affirms it as a matter out of question, Ep. 106. and *contr. Julian.* l. 1. c. 4, where he tells us that Pelagius, in denying this, did dispute *contra sedis apostolicæ authoritatem,* "against the authority of the see apostolic." And after: "But if they yield to the see apostolic, or rather to the Master himself and Lord of the apostles, who says, that they shall not have life in them, unless they *eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood,* which none may do but those that are baptized; then at length they will confess, that infants not baptized cannot have life."

Now I suppose no man will doubt, but the belief of the apostolic see was then (as St. Austin assures us, l. 1. *cont. Jul.* c. 4.) the belief of the church of Rome, taking it for a particular church; and then it will presently follow, that either other churches do not think themselves bound to conformity of belief with the Roman church, notwithstanding Irenæus his *necesse est ad hanc ecclesiam omnem convenire ecclesiam;* or that this was then the doctrine of the catholic church. For Eusebius Emissenus, I cannot quote any particular proof out of him; but his belief in this point is acknowledged by Sanctes. *Repet.* 6. c. 7. Likewise for St. Austin, the same Sanctesius, and Binnius, and Maldonate, either not mindful, or not regardful of the anathema of the council of Trent, acknowledge (in the places above quoted) that he was also of the same belief: and indeed he professeth it so plainly and so frequently, that he must be a mere stranger to him that knows it not, and very impudent that denies it. *Eucharistiam infantibus putat necessariam Augustinus,* say also the di-

vines of Louvain, in their index to their edition of St. Austin; and they refer us in their index only to tom. 2. p. 185, that is, to the 106th Epist. (the words whereof I have already quoted, to shew the meaning of Innocentius,) and to tom. 7. p. 282, that is, lib. 1. *De Pec. Mor. et Remis.* c. 20, where his words are; "Let then all doubt be taken away: let us hear our Lord, I say, saying, not of the sacrament of holy baptism, but of the sacrament of his table, (to which none may lawfully come but he which has been baptized,) *Unless you eat the flesh of the Son, and drink his blood, you shall have no life in you.* What seek we any further? What can be answered hereunto? What!! will any man dare to say, that this appertains not to little children; and that without the participation of his body and blood they may have life?" &c. with much more to the same effect. Which places are indeed so plain and pregnant for that purpose, that I believe they thought it needless to add more; otherwise, had they pleased, they might have furnished their index with many more references to this point; as, *De Pec. Mor. et Rem.* l. 1. c. 24; where of baptism and the eucharist he tells us, that *salus et vita æterna sine his frustra promittitur parvulis.* The same he has, *Cont. 2. Epist. Pelag. ad Bonifacium*, l. 1. c. 22. (which yet by Gratian, *De Confec. D.* 3. c. *Nulli*, and by T. Aquinas, p. 3. q. 3. art. 9. *ad tertiam*, is strangely corrupted, and made to say the contrary,) and l. 4. c. 4; the same, *Cont. Julian.* l. 1. c. 4. and l. 3. c. 11, 12. *Cont. Pelag. et Celest.* l. 2. c. 8. *de Prædest. Sanctorum ad Prosp. et Hilar.* l. 1. c. 14. Neither doth he retract or contradict this opinion any where, nor mitigate any one of his sentences touching this matter, in his book of Retractations. Sanctesius indeed tells us, that he seems to have departed from his opinion in his works against the Donatists; but I would he had shewed

some probable reason to make it seem so to others; which seeing he does not, we have reason to take time to believe him. For as touching the place mentioned by Beda in 1 ad Corinth. x. as taken out of a sermon of St. Austin's *ad infantes ad altare;* besides that it is very strange St. Austin should make a sermon to infants, and that there is no such sermon extant in his works, nor any memory of any such in Possidius, St. Austin's scholar's catalogue of his works, nor in his book of Retractations; setting aside all this, I say, first, that it is no way certain that he speaks there of infants, seeing in propriety of speech (as St. Austin himself teacheth us, Ep. 23.) infants were not *fideles*, of whom St. Austin in that supposed sermon speaks. Secondly, admit he does speak of infants, where he assures us, that in baptism every faithful man is made partaker of Christ's body and blood, and that he shall not be alienated from the benefit of the bread and cup, although he depart this life before he eat of that bread and drink of that cup; all this concludes no more, but that the actual participation of the eucharist is not a means simply necessary to attain salvation, so that no impossibility shall excuse the failing of it; whereas all that I aim at is but this, that in the judgment of the ancient church it was believed necessary, in case of possibility; necessary, not *in actu*, but in *voto ecclesiæ;* not necessary to salvation simply, but necessary for the increase of grace and glory: and therefore, lastly, though not necessary, by necessity of means, for infants to receive it, yet necessary, by necessity of precepts, for the church to give it.

The last witness I promised was the author of the work against the Pelagians called *Hypognostica*, who (l. 5. c. 5.) asks the Pelagians, "Seeing he himself hath said, *Unless you eat the flesh*, &c. how dare you

promise eternal life to little children, not regenerate of water and the Holy Ghost; not having eaten his flesh, nor drunk his blood?" And a little after; "Behold then, he that is not baptized, and he that is destitute of the bread and cup of life, is separated from the kingdom of heaven."

To the same purpose he speaks l. 6. c. 6; but it is superfluous to recite his words, for either this is enough, or nothing.

The third kind of proof, whereby I undertook to shew the belief of the ancient church in this point, was the confession of the learnedest writers and best versed in the church of Rome; who, what the council of Trent forbids under anathema that any man should say of any ancient Father, are not yet afraid, nor make any scruple to say it in plain terms of the whole church for many ages together, viz. That she believed the eucharist necessary for infants. So doth Maldonate in Joan. vi. *Mitto Augustini et Innocentii sententiam (quæ etiam viguit in ecclesia per sexcentos annos) eucharistiam etiam infantibus necessariam;* "I say nothing," says he, "of St. Austin's and Innocentius his opinion, that the eucharist was necessary even for infants; which doctrine flourished in the church for six hundred years."

The same almost in terms hath Binnius, in his notes on the councils, p. 624. *Hinc constat Innocentii sententia (quæ sexcentos circiter annos viguit in ecclesia, quam Augustinus sectatus est) eucharistiam etiam infantibus necessariam fuisse.*

Lastly, That treasury of antiquity, cardinal Perron, though he speaks not so home as the rest do, yet he says enough for my purpose, *Des Passages de S. Aug.* c. 10. p. 101. "The custom of giving the eucharist to infants the church then observed as profitable." This,

I say, is enough for my purpose: for what more contradictious, than that the eucharist, being the same without alteration, to infants should then be profitable, and now unprofitable? then, all things considered, expedient to be used, if not necessary, and therefore commanded; and now, though there be no variety in the case, all things considered, not necessary, nor expedient, and therefore forbidden?

The issue of all this discourse, for aught I can see, must be this: That either both parts of a contradiction must be true, and consequently nothing can be false, seeing that which contradicts truth is not so; or else, that the ancient church did err in believing something expedient which was not so, (and if so, why may not the present church err in thinking Latin service and communion in one kind expedient?) or that the present church doth err, in thinking something not expedient which is so. And if so, why may she not err in thinking communicating the laity in both kinds, and service in vulgar languages, not expedient?

V. *An Argument drawn from the Doctrine of the Millenaries against Infallibility.*

THE doctrine of the millenaries was, "That before the world's end Christ should reign upon earth for a thousand years, and that the saints should live under him in all holiness and happiness." That this doctrine is by the present Roman church held false and heretical, I think no man will deny.

That the same doctrine was by the church of the next age after the apostles held true and catholic, I prove by these two reasons.

The first reason: Whatsoever doctrine is believed

and taught by the most eminent Fathers of any age of the church, and by none of their contemporaries opposed or condemned, that is to be esteemed the catholic doctrine of the church of those times; but the doctrine of the millenaries was believed and taught by the most eminent Fathers of the age next after the apostles, and by none of that age opposed or condemned; therefore it was the catholic doctrine of the church of those times.

The proposition of this syllogism is Cardinal Perron's rule, (in his Epistle to Casaubon, 5. obs.) and is indeed one of the main pillars upon which the great fabric of his answer to king James doth stand, and with which it cannot but fall; and therefore I will spend no time in the proof of it.

But the assumption thus I prove.

That doctrine, which was believed and taught by Papias bishop of Hierapolis, the disciple of the apostles' disciples, (according to Eusebius,) who lived in the times of the apostles, saith he; by Justin Martyr, doctor of the church, and martyr; by Melito, bishop of Sardis, who had the gift of prophecy, witness Tert. and whom Bellarmine acknowledges a saint; by St. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, and martyr; and was not opposed or condemned by any one doctor of the church of those times; that doctrine was believed and taught by the most eminent Fathers of that age next to the apostles, and opposed by none:

But the former part of the proposition is true; *ergo*, the latter is true also.

The major of this syllogism, and the latter part of the minor, I suppose will need no proof with them that consider, that these here mentioned were equal in number to all the other ecclesiastical writers of that age, of whom there is any memory remaining, and in

weight and worth infinitely beyond them: they were Athenagoras, Theophilus Antiochenus, Hegesippus, and Hippolytus; of whose contradiction to this doctrine there is not extant, either in their works or in story, any print or footstep; which if they, or any of them, had opposed, it had been impossible, considering the ecclesiastical story of their time is written by the professed enemies of the millenaries' doctrine, who, could they have found any thing in the monuments of antiquity to have put in the balance against Justin Martyr and Irenæus, no doubt would not have buried it in silence; which yet they do, neither vouching for their opinion any one of more antiquity than Dionysius Alexandrinus, who lived, saith Eusebius, *nostra ætate* (in our age), but certainly in the latter part of the third century. For Tatianus, because a heretic, I reckon not in this number. And if any man say, that before his fall he wrote many books; I say, it is true; but withal would have it remembered, that he was Justin Martyr's scholar, and therefore in all probability of his master's faith, rather than against it. All that is extant of him one way or other is but this in St. Hierome, De Script. Eccles.: *Justini Martyris sectator fuit.*

Now for the other part of the minor, that the forementioned Fathers did believe and teach this doctrine. And first for Papias, that he taught it, is confessed by Eusebius, the enemy of this doctrine, (l. 3. *Hist. Eccl.* c. 33.) in these words: "Other things besides the same author (Papias) declares, that they came to him as it were by unwritten tradition, wherein he affirms, that after the resurrection of all flesh from the dead, there shall be a kingdom of Christ continued and established for a thousand years upon earth, after a human and corporeal manner." The same is confessed by

St. Hierome, another enemy to this opinion (*De Script. Eccles.* s. 29.): "Papias, the auditor of John bishop of Hierapolis, is said to have taught the Judaical tradition of a thousand years, whom Irenæus and Apollinarius followed." And in his preface upon the commentaries of Victorinus upon the Apocalypse, thus he writes: "Before him Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, and Nepos, bishop in the parts of Egypt, taught as Victorinus does, touching the kingdom of the thousand years."

The same is testified by Irenæus (lib. 5. *cont. Hær.* c. 33.), where having at large set forth this doctrine, he confirms it by the authority of Papias, in these words: "Papias also, the auditor of John the familiar friend of Polycarpus, an ancient man, hath testified by writing these things in the fourth of his books; for he hath written five." And concerning Papias thus much.

That Justin Martyr was of the same belief is confessed by Sixtus Senensis *Biblioth. Stæ.* l. 6. an. 347; by Faverdentius, in his premonition before the five last chapters of the fifth book of Irenæus; and by Pamelius, in *Antidoto ad Tertull. Parad. Paradox.* 14.

That St. Melito, bishop of Sardis, held the same doctrine, is confessed by Pamelius in the same place: and thereupon it is, that Gennadius Massiliensis, in his book *De Eccles. Dogmatibus*, calls the followers of this opinion Melitani; as the same Pamelius testifies in his notes upon that fragment of Tertullian, *De Spe Fidelium.*

Irenæus his faith in this point is likewise confessed by Eusebius in the place before quoted, in these words: "He (Papias) was the author of the like error to most of the writers of the church, who alleged the antiquity of the man for a defence of their side, as to Irenæus,

and whosoever else seemed to be of the same opinion with him. By St. Hierome, in the place above cited, *De Script. Eccles.* s. 29. Again, in lib. Ezek. xi. in these words: "For neither do we expect from heaven a golden Hierusalem, according to the Jewish tales, which they call *Deuterosis*, which also many of our own have followed; especially Tertullian, in his book *De Spe Fidelium;* and Lactantius in his seventh book of Institutions, and the frequent expositions of Victorinus Pictavionensis; and of late Severius, in his dialogue, which he calls Gallus; and to name the Greeks, and to join together the first and last, Irenæus and Apollinarius." Where we see he acknowledges Irenæus to be of this opinion; but that he was the first that held it, I believe that that is more a Christian untruth, than Irenæus his opinion a Judaical fable. For he himself acknowledges in the place above cited, that Irenæus followed Papias; and it is certain and confessed, that Justin Martyr believed it long before him: and Irenæus himself derives it from *presbyteri, qui Johannem discipulum Domini viderunt;* "from priests, which saw John the disciple of the Lord." Lastly, by Pamelius, Sixtus Senensis, and Faverdentius, in the places above quoted.

Seeing therefore it is certain, even to the confession of the adversaries, that Papias, Justin Martyr, Melito, and Irenæus, the most considerable and eminent men of their age, did believe and teach this doctrine; and seeing it has been proved as evidently as a thing of this nature can be, that none of their contemporaries opposed or condemned it; it remains, according to cardinal Perron's first rule, that this is to be esteemed the doctrine of the church of that age.

My second reason I form thus: Whatsoever doctrine is taught by the Fathers of any age, not as doctors,

but as witnesses of the tradition of the church,) that is, not as their own opinion, but as the doctrine of the church of their times,) that is undoubtedly to be so esteemed, especially if none contradicted them in it; but the Fathers above cited teach this doctrine, not as their own private opinion, but as the Christian tradition, and as the doctrine of the church, neither did any contradict them in it; *ergo*, it is undoubtedly to be so esteemed.

The major of this syllogism is cardinal Perron's second rule and way of finding out the doctrine of the ancient church in any age; and if it be not a sure rule, farewell the use of all antiquity. And for the minor, there will be little doubt of it to him that considers, that Papias professes himself to have received this doctrine by unwritten tradition, though not from the apostles themselves immediately, yet from their scholars, as appears by Eusebius in the forecited third book, chapter 33.

That Irenæus grounded it upon evident scripture, and professes that he learnt it (whether mediately or immediately I cannot tell) from presbyters, *qui Johannem discipulum Domini viderunt*, priests or elders, who saw John the Lord's disciple, and heard of him what our Lord taught of those times (of the thousand years); and also, as he says after, from Papias, the auditor of John the chamber-fellow of Polycarpus, an ancient man, who recorded it in writing.

Faverdentius his note upon this place is very notable. *Hinc apparet*, saith he, &c. "From hence it appears that Irenæus neither first invented this opinion, nor held it as proper to himself, but got this blot and blemish from certain Fathers." Papias, I suppose, and some other inglorious fellows, the familiar friends of Irenæus, are here intended.

I hope then if the Fathers, which lived with the apostles, had their blots and blemishes, it is no such horrid crime for Calvin and the century writers to impute the same to their great-grandchildren. *Ætas parentum pejor avis progeniem fert vitiosiorem.* But yet these inglorious disciples of the apostles, though perhaps not so learned as Faverdentius, were yet certainly so honest as not to invent lies, and deliver them as apostolic tradition. Or if they were not, what confidence can we place in any other unwritten tradition?

Lastly, That Justin Martyr grounds it upon plain prophecies of the Old Testament, and express words of the New. He professeth, That he, and all other Christians, of a right belief in all things, believe it; joins them who believe it not, with them who deny the resurrection; or else says, that none denied this, but the same who denied the resurrection; and that indeed they were called Christians, but in deed and in truth were none.

Whosoever, I say, considers these things, will easily grant, that they held it not as their own opinion, but as the doctrine of the church, and the faith of Christians.

Hereupon I conclude, whatsoever they held, not as their private opinion, but as the faith of the church, that was the faith of the church of their time; but this doctrine they held, not as their private opinion, but as the faith of the church; *ergo*, it was and is to be esteemed the faith of the church.

Trypho. "Do ye confess, that before ye expect the coming of Christ, this place Hierusalem shall be again restored, and that your people shall be congregated, and rejoice together with Christ, and the patriarchs, and the prophets?" &c.

Justin Martyr. "I have confessed to you before, that both I and many others do believe, as you well know, that this shall be; but that many again, who are *not* of the pure and holy opinion of Christians, do not acknowledge this, I have also signified unto you; for I have declared unto you, that some called Christians, but being indeed atheists and impious heretics, do generally teach blasphemous, and atheistical, and foolish things. But that you might know that I speak not this to you only, I will make a book, as near as I can, of these our disputations, where I will profess in writing that which I say before you; for I resolve to follow not men, and the doctrines of men, but God, and the doctrine of God. For although you chance to meet with some that are called Christians, which do not confess this, but dare to blaspheme the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; which also say there is no resurrection of the dead, but that as soon as they die, their souls are received into heaven; do not you yet think them Christians: as neither, if a man consider rightly, will he account the Sadducees, and other sectaries and heretics, as the Genistæ, and the Meristæ, and Galileans, and Pharisees, and Hellenians, and Baptists, and other such, to be Jews; but only that they are called Jews, and the children of Abraham, and such as with their lips confess God, (as God himself cries out,) but have their hearts far from him. But I, and all Christians, that in all things believe aright, both know that there shall be a resurrection of the flesh, and a thousand years in Hierusalem restored, and adorned, and enlarged; according as the prophets Ezekiel, and Esay, and others do testify; for thus saith Isaiah of the time of this thousand years: *For there shall be a new heaven, and a new earth, and they shall not remember the*

former," &c. And after: "A certain man amongst us, whose name was John, one of the twelve apostles of Christ, in that revelation which was exhibited unto him, hath foretold, that they which believe our Christ, shall live in Hierusalem a thousand years, and that after, the universal and everlasting resurrection and judgment shall be."

I have presumed in the beginning of Justin Martyr's answer to substitute *not* instead of *also*, because I am confident, that either by chance, or the fraud of some ill-willers to the millenaries' opinion, the place has been corrupted, and οὐ turned into καὶ, *not* into *also*. For, if we retain the usual reading, "But that many, who are also of the pure and holy opinion of Christians, do not acknowledge this, I have also signified unto you:" then must we conclude, that Justin Martyr himself did believe the opinion of them, which denied the thousand years to be the pure and holy opinion of Christians: and if so, why did he not himself believe it? Nay, how could he but believe it to be true, professing it (as he does, if the place be right) to be the pure and holy opinion of Christians? For how a false doctrine can be the pure and holy opinion of Christians, what Christian can conceive? Or if it may be so, how can the contrary avoid being untrue, unholy, and not the opinion of Christians?

Again, if we read the place thus, "That many, who are also of the pure and holy opinion of Christians, do not acknowledge this, I have also signified;" certainly there will be neither sense nor reason, neither coherence nor consequence in the words following; "For I have told you of many called Christians, but being indeed atheists and heretics, that they altogether teach blasphemous and impious and foolish things." For how is this a confirmation or reason of, or any way pertinent unto, what went before, if there he speak of none but

such as were *puræ piæque Christianorum sententiæ*, "of the pure and holy opinion of Christians?" And therefore to disguise this inconsequence, the translator has thought fit to make use of a false translation, and instead of, "for I have told you," to make it, "besides I have told you of many," &c. Again, if Justin Martyr had thought this the pure and holy opinion of Christians, or them good and holy Christians that held it; why does he rank them with them that denied the resurrection? why does he say afterward, "Although you chance to meet with some that are called Christians, which do not confess this, do not ye think them Christians?" Lastly, what sense is there in saying, as he does, "I, and all Christians, that are of a right belief in all things, believe the doctrine of the thousand years;" and that the scriptures both of the Old and New Testament teach it; and yet say, "That many of the pure and holy opinion of Christians do not believe it?" Upon these reasons, I suppose, it is evident, that the place has been corrupted, and it is to be corrected, according as I have corrected it, by substituting οὐ in the place of καὶ, *not* instead of *also*. Neither need any man think strange, that this misfortune of the change of a syllable should befall this place, who considers that in this place Justin Martyr tells us that he had said the same things before, whereas nothing to this purpose appears now in him. And that in Victorinus his comment on the Revelations, wherein (by St. Hierome's acknowledgment) this doctrine was strongly maintained, there now appears nothing at all for it, but rather against it. And now, from the place thus restored, these observations offer themselves unto us:

1. That Justin Martyr speaks not as a doctor, but as a witness of the doctrine of the church of his time. I, saith he, and all Christians, that are of a right be-

lief in all things, hold this. And therefore from hence, according to Cardinal Perron's rule, we are to conclude, not probably, but demonstratively, that this was the doctrine of the church of that time.

2. That they held it as a necessary matter, so far as to hold them no Christians that held the contrary. "Though you chance to meet with some called Christians that do not confess this, but dare to blaspheme the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, &c., yet do not ye think them Christians." Now if Bellarmine's rule be true, that councils then determine any things as matters of faith, when they pronounce them heretics that hold the contrary; then sure Justin Martyr held this doctrine as a matter of faith, seeing he pronounceth them no Christians that contradict it.

3. That the doctrine is grounded upon the scripture of the Old and New Testament, and the Revelation of St. John, and that by a doctor and martyr of the church, and such a one as was converted to Christianity within thirty years after the death of St. John, when in all probability there were many alive that had heard him expound his own words, and teach this doctrine. And if probabilities will not be admitted, this is certain out of the most authentical records of the church, that Papias, the disciple of the apostles' disciples, taught it the church, professing that he had received it from them that learned it from the apostles: and if, after all this, the church of those times might err in a doctrine so clearly derived, and authentically delivered, how, without extreme impudence, can any church in after-times pretend to infallibility?

The millenaries' doctrine was overborne, by imputing to them that which they held not; by abrogating the authority of St. John's Revelation, as some did; or by derogating from it, as others; ascribing it not to St.

John the apostle, but to some other John, they knew not who: which—Dionysius, the first known adversary of this doctrine, and his followers; against the tradition of Irenæus, Justin Martyr, and all the Fathers their antecessors; by calling it a Judaical opinion, and yet allowing it as probable, by corrupting the authors for it; as Justin, Victorinus, Severus.

VI. *A Letter relating to the same Subject.*

SIR,

I pray remember, that if a consent of Fathers either constitute or declare a truth to be necessary, or shew the opinion of the church of their time; then that opinion of the Jusuits, concerning predestination upon prescience, (which had no opposer before St. Austin,) must be so, and the contrary of the Dominicans heretical; and the present church differs from the ancient, in not esteeming of it as they did.

Secondly, I pray remember, that if the Fathers be infallible (when they speak as witnesses of tradition) to shew the opinion of the church of their time; then the opinion of the Chiliasts (which now is a heresy in the church of Rome) was once tradition in the opinion of the church.

Thirdly, Since St. Austin had an opinion, that of whatsoever no beginning was known that came from the apostles, many Fathers might say things to be tradition upon that ground only; but of this opinion of the Chiliasts, one of the ancientest Fathers, Irenæus, says, not only that it was tradition, but sets down Christ's own words when he taught it, and the pedigree of the opinion from Christ to John his disciple; from him to several priests, (whereof Papias was one, who put it in writing,) and so downwards; which can be

shewn from no other Father for no other opinion, either controverted or uncontroverted.

Fourthly, That if Papias, either by his own error, or a desire to deceive, could cozen the Fathers of the purest age in this, why not also in other things? why not in twenty as well as one? why not twenty others as well as he?

Fifthly, That if the Fathers could be cozened, how could general councils escape, who, you say, make tradition one of their rules, which can only be known from the Fathers?

Sixthly, If they object, How could errors come in, and no beginning of them known? I pray remember to ask them the same question concerning the millenaries, which lasted uncontradicted until Dionysius Alexandrinus, two hundred and fifty years after Christ; and if they tell you that Papias was the first beginner, look in Irenæus, and he will tell you the contrary, *loco citato*, l. 5. c. 33.

Seventhly, Remember, that if I ought not to condemn the church of Rome out of scripture, because my interpretation may deceive me; then they ought not to build their infallibility upon it, (and less upon her own word,) because theirs may deceive them; unless the same thing may be a wall when you lean upon it, and a bulrush when we do.

Eighthly, Remember that they cannot say they trust not their interpretation in this, but a consent of Fathers; because the Fathers are not said to be infallible, but as they tell the opinion of the church of their time, which is infallible: therefore they must first prove out of scripture that she is infallible, or else she (who is herself the subject of the question) cannot be allowed till then to give a verdict for herself.

Ninthly, Remember the Roman church claims no

notes of the church, but what agree with the Grecian too, (as antiquity, succession, miracles, &c.,) but only communion with the pope and splendour; both which made for the Arians in Liberius his time; and it were a hard case, that because the Greeks are poor upon earth, they should be shut out of heaven.

Tenthly, Remember, that if we have an infallible way, we have no use (at least no necessity) of an infallible guide; for if we may be saved by following the scripture as near as we can, (though we err,) it is as good as any interpreter to keep unity in charity (which is only needful) though not in opinion; and this cannot be ridiculous, because they say, if any man misinterpret the council of Trent, it shall not damn him; and why (without more ado) may not the same be said of scripture?

VII. *An Argument against the Infallibility of the present Church of Rome, taken from the Contradictions in your Doctrine of Transubstantiation.*

Chillingworth. That church is not infallible which teacheth contradictions; but the church of Rome teacheth contradictions: therefore the church of Rome is not infallible.

Mr. Daniel. I deny the minor.

Chill. That church teacheth contradictions, which teacheth such a doctrine as contains contradictions; but the church of Rome teacheth such a doctrine: therefore the church of Rome teacheth contradictions.

Mr. Dan. I deny the minor.

Chill. The doctrine of transubstantiation contains contradictions; but the church of Rome teacheth the doctrine of transubstantiation: therefore the church of

Rome teacheth such a doctrine as contains contradictions.

Mr. Dan. I deny the major.

Chill. That the same thing, at the same time, should have the true figure of a man's body, and should not have the true figure of a man's body, is a contradiction; but in the doctrine of transubstantiation it is taught, that the same thing (viz. our Saviour present in the sacrament) has the true figure of a man's body, and has not the true figure of a man's body, at the same time: therefore the doctrine of transubstantiation contains contradictions.

Mr. Dan. The major, though not having all rules required to a contradiction, (as boys in logic know,) yet let it pass.

Chill. Boys in logic know no more conditions required to a contradiction, but that the same thing should be affirmed and denied of the same thing at the same time. For my meaning was, that that should not be accounted the same thing which was considered after divers manners.

Mr. Dan. I deny the minor of your syllogism.

Chill. I prove it, according to the several parts of it: and first for the first part. He must have the figure of a man's body in the eucharist, who is there without any real alteration or difference from the natural body of a man; but our Saviour, according to the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation, is in the sacrament without any real alteration or difference from the natural body of a man; therefore, according to this doctrine, he must there have the figure of a man's body. To the second part, that he must not have the figure of a man's body in the sacrament, according to this doctrine, thus I prove it. He must not have the figure of a man's body in the eucharist,

which must not have extension there; but our Saviour's body, according to the doctrine of transubstantiation, must not have extension there; therefore, according to this doctrine, he must not have the figure of a man's body there. The major of this syllogism I proved, because the figure of a man's body could not be without extension. The minor I proved thus: That must not have extension in the eucharist, whose every part is together in one and the same point; but according to this doctrine, every part of our Saviour's body must be here in one and the same point; therefore here it must not have extension.

Mr. Dan. answered, by distinguishing the major of the first syllogism, and said; that he must not have the true figure of a man's body, according to the reason of a figure taken in its essential consideration, which is to have *positionem partium sic et sic extra partes;* but not the accidental consideration, which is *in ordine ad locum.* And this answer he applied for the solution of the minor, saying thus: Our Saviour is there without any real alteration intrinsical, but not extrinsical; for he is not changed in order to himself, but in order to place: or otherwise, he is not altered in his continual existence, which is only *modus essentiæ*, and inseparable even by Divine power, though altered *in modo existendi*, which is situation, and required *to figure* taken in order to *place.*

Chill. Against this it was replied by Chillingworth, that the distinction of a man's body, as considered in itself, and as considered in reference to place, is vain, and no solution of the argument; and thus he proved it: If it be impossible that any thing should have several parts one out of another in order and reference of each to other, without having these parts in several places, then the distinction is vain; but it is impossible,

that any thing should have several parts one out of another, without having these parts in several places; therefore the distinction is vain.

The major of this syllogism he took for granted.

The minor he proved thus: Whatsoever body is in the proper place of another body, must of necessity be in that very body, by possessing the dimensions of it; therefore, whatsoever hath several parts one out of the other, must of necessity have them one out of the place of the other; and consequently in several places.

For illustration of this argument he said: If my head, and belly, and thighs, and legs, and feet, be all in the very same place, of necessity my head must be in my belly, and my belly in my thighs, and my thighs in my legs, and all of them in my feet, and my feet in all of them; and therefore if my head be out of my belly, it must be out of the place where my belly is; and if it be not out of the place where my belly is, it is not out of my belly, but in it.

Again, to shew that, according to the doctrine of transubstantiation, our Saviour's body in the eucharist hath not the several parts of it out of one another, he disputed thus: Wheresoever there is a body, having several parts one out of the other, there must be some middle parts severing the extreme parts; but here, according to this doctrine, the extreme parts are not severed, but altogether in the same point; therefore here our Saviour's body cannot have parts one out of the other.

Mr. Dan. to all this (for want of a better answer) gave only this: "Let all scholars peruse these." After, upon better consideration, he wrote by the side of the last syllogism this: *Quoad entitatem verum est, non quoad locum*; that is, "According to entity it is true, but not according to place." And to, "Let all scholars

peruse these," he caused this to be added, "and weigh whether there is any new matter worth a new answer."

Chillingworth replied, That to say the extreme parts of a body are severed by the middle parts according to their entity, but not according to place, is ridiculous. His reasons are, first, because severing of things is nothing else but putting or keeping them in several places, as every silly woman knows; and therefore to say they are severed, but not according to place, is as if you should say, they are heated, but not according to heat; they are cooled, but not according to cold; indeed it is to say, they are severed, but not severed.

VIII. *An Account of what moved the Author to turn Papist, with his own Confutation of the Arguments that persuaded him thereto.*

I RECONCILED myself to the church of Rome, because I thought myself to have sufficient reason to believe, that there was and must be always in the world some church that could not err; and consequently, seeing all other churches disclaimed this privilege of not being subject to error, the church of Rome must be that church which cannot err.

I was put into doubt of this way which I had chosen by Dr. Stapleton and others, who limit the church's freedom from error to things necessary only, and such as without which the church can be a church no longer; but granted it subject to error in things that were not necessary: hereupon considering, that most of the differences between protestants and Roman

catholics were not touching things necessary, but only profitable or lawful; I concluded, that I had not sufficient ground to believe the Roman church either could not or did not err in any thing, and therefore no ground to be a Roman catholic.

Against this again I was persuaded, that it was not sufficient to believe the church to be an infallible believer of all doctrines necessary, but it must also be granted an infallible teacher of what is necessary; that is, that we must believe, not only that the church teacheth all things necessary, but that all is necessary to be believed which the church teacheth to be so; in effect, that the church is our guide in the way to heaven.

Now to believe that the church was an infallible guide, and to be believed in all things which she requires us to believe, I was induced, first, because there was nothing that could reasonably contest with the church about this office, but the scripture; and that the scripture was this guide I was willing to believe, but that I saw not how it could be made good without depending upon the church's authority,

1. That scripture is the word of God;

2. That the scripture is a perfect rule of our duty;

3. That the scripture is so plain in those things which concern our duty, that whosoever desires and endeavours to find the will of God there, he shall either find it, or at least not dangerously mistake it.

Secondly, I was drawn to this belief, because I conceived that it was evident, out of the Epistle to the Ephesians, that there must be unto the world's end a succession of pastors, by adhering to whom men might be kept from wavering in matters of faith, and from being carried up and down with every wind of false doctrine.

That no succession of pastors could guard their ad-

herents from danger of error, if themselves were subject unto error, either in teaching that to be necessary, which is not so, or denying that to be necessary, which is so: and therefore,

That there was and must be some succession of pastors, which was an infallible guide in the way to heaven, and which could not possibly teach any thing to be necessary, which was not so; nor any thing not necessary, which was so. Upon this ground I concluded, that seeing there must be such a succession of pastors as was an infallible guide, and there was no other, (but that of the church of Rome,) even by the confession of all other societies of pastors in the world; that therefore that succession of pastors is that infallible guide of faith which all men must follow.

Upon these grounds, I thought it necessary for my salvation to believe the Roman church in all that she thought to be and proposed as necessary.

Against these arguments it hath been demonstrated unto me—and first against the first—that the reason why we are to believe the scripture to be the word of God, neither is nor can be the authority of the present church of Rome, which cannot make good her authority any other way, but by pretence of scripture; and therefore stands not unto scripture (no not in respect of us) in the relation of a foundation to a building, but of a building to a foundation; doth not support scripture, but is supported by it. But the general consent of Christians of all nations and ages, a far greater company than that of the church of Rome, and delivering universally the scripture for the word of God, is the ordinary external reason why we believe it; whereunto the testimonies of the Jews, enemies of Christ, add no small moment for the authority of some part of it.

That whatsoever stood upon the same ground of universal tradition with scripture, might justly challenge belief as well as scripture; but that no doctrine, not written in scripture, could justly pretend to as full tradition as the scripture, and therefore we had no reason to believe it with that degree of faith wherewith we believe the scripture.

That it is unreasonable to think that he that reads the scripture, and uses all means appointed for this purpose, with an earnest desire, and with no other end, but to find the will of God, and to obey it, if he mistake the meaning of some doubtful places, and fall unwillingly into some errors, unto which no vice or passion betrays him, and is willing to hear reason from any man that will undertake to shew him his error; I say, that it is unreasonable to think that a God of goodness will impute such an error to such a man.

Against the second, it was demonstrated unto me, that the place I built on so confidently was no argument at all for the infallibility of the succession of pastors in the Roman church, but a very strong argument against it.

First, No argument for it, because it is not certain, nor can ever be proved, that St. Paul speaks there of any succession, Ephes. iv. 11, 12, 13. For let that be granted which is desired, that in verse 13. by *until we all meet*, is meant, until all the children of God meet in the unity of faith, that is, unto the world's end; yet it is not said there, *that he gave apostles and prophets*, &c. which should continue, &c. *until we all meet*, by connecting ver. 13. to ver. 11; but, *he gave* (then upon his ascension, and miraculously endowed) *apostles and prophets, &c. for the work of the ministry, for the consummating of the saints, for the edification of the body of Christ, until we all meet*, that is, if you will, unto the

world's end. Neither is there any incongruity, but that *the apostles and prophets*, &c. which lived then, may in good sense be said now at this time, and ever hereafter, to do those things which they are said to do. For who can deny but St. Paul, the apostle and doctor of the Gentiles, and St. John the evangelist and prophet, do at this very time, (by their writings, though not by their persons,) do the work of the ministry, *consummate the saints, and edify the body of Christ.*

Secondly, It cannot be shewn or proved from hence, that there is or was to be any such succession; because St. Paul here tells us only, that he gave such in the time past, not that he promised such in the time to come.

Thirdly, It is evident that God promised no such succession, because it is not certain that he hath made good any such promise; for who is so impudent as to pretend that there are now, and have been in all ages since Christ, some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers; especially such as he here speaks of, that is, endowed with such gifts as Christ gave upon his ascension; of which he speaks in ver. 8. saying, *He led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.* And that those gifts were—men endowed with extraordinary power and supernatural gifts—it is apparent, because these words, *and he gave some apostles, some prophets*, &c. are added by way of explication and illustration of that which was said before, *and he gave gifts unto men.* And if any man except hereunto, that though the apostles and prophets and evangelists were extraordinary, and for the plantation of the gospel, yet pastors were ordinary, and for continuance; I answer, it is true, some pastors are ordinary, and for continuance, but not such as are here spoken of; not such as are endowed with the strange and heavenly

gifts, which Christ gave, not only to the apostles and prophets and evangelists, but to the inferior pastors and doctors of his church, at the first plantation of it. And therefore St. Paul, in 1 Cor. xii. 28, (to which place we are referred by the margin of the vulgar translation, for the explication of this,) places this gift of teaching amongst, and prefers it before, many other miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost. Pastors there are still in the church, but not such as Titus, and Timothy, and Apollos, and Barnabas; not such as can justly pretend to immediate inspiration and illumination of the Holy Ghost. And therefore seeing there neither are, nor have been, for many ages in the church, such apostles, and prophets, &c. as here are spoken of, it is certain he promised none; or otherwise we must blasphemously charge him with breach of his promise.

Secondly, I answer, that if by *dedit, he gave,* be meant *promisit, he promised,* for ever; then all were promised, and all should have continued. If by *dedit* be not meant *promisit,* then he promised none such, nor may we expect any such by virtue of or warrant from this text that is here alleged. And thus much for the first assumpt, which was, That the place was no argument for an infallible succession in the church of Rome.

Now for the second, That it is a strong argument against it, thus I make it good.

The apostles and prophets and evangelists and pastors, which our Saviour gave upon his ascension, were given by him, that they might consummate the saints, do the work of the ministry, edify the body of Christ, until we all come into the unity of faith, that we be not like children, wavering and carried up and down with every wind of doctrine. The apostles, and prophets, &c. that then were, do not now in their own persons and by oral instruction do the work of the min-

istry, to the intent we may be kept from wavering, and being carried up and down with every wind of doctrine: therefore they do this some other way. Now there is no other way by which they can do it, but by their writings; and therefore by their writings they do it: therefore by their writings, and believing of them, we are to be kept from wavering in matters of faith: therefore the scriptures of the apostles and prophets and evangelists are our guides: therefore not the church of Rome.

An Answer to some Passages in Rushworth's Dialogues, beginning at the Third Dialogue, §. XII. p. 181. *ed. Paris*, 1654, *about Traditions.* [Corrected according to the MS. of the author in the Bodleian Library, Tanner, N°. 233.]

Uncle. Do you think there is such a city as Rome or Constantinople?

Nephew. That I do: I would I knew what I ask as well.

Chillingworth.

First, I should have answered, that in propriety of speech I could not say that I knew it, but that I did as undoubtedly believe it as those things which I did know. For though (as I conceive) we may be properly said to believe that which we know, yet we cannot say truly that we know that which we only believe upon report and hearsay, be it never so constant, never so general: for seeing the generality of men is made up of particulars, and every particular man may deceive and be deceived, it is not impossible, though exceedingly improbable, that all men should conspire to do so. Yet I deny not that the popular phrase of speech will very well bear, that we may say we

know that, which in truth we only believe, provided the grounds of our belief be morally certain; and such are these here mentioned; and therefore let this answer pass.

Neither do I take any exception to the nephew's answers made to his uncle's 2, 3, 4, and 5 interrogatories. But grant willingly as to the first, that it is not much material whether I remember or not any particular author of such a general and constant report. Then, that the testimony of one or two witnesses, though never so credible, could add nothing to that belief which is already at the height; nay, perhaps that my own seeing these cities would make no accession, add no degree to the strength and firmness of my faith concerning this matter, only it would change the kind of my assent, and make me know that which formerly I did but believe.

To the fourth, that seeming reasons are not much to be regarded against sense or experience, and moral certainties; (but withal I should have told my uncle, that I fear his supposition is hardly possible, and that the nature of the thing will not admit that there should be any great, nay, any probable reasons invented, to persuade me that there was never such a city as London;) and therefore, if any man should go about to persuade me that there never was such a city as London; that there were no such men as called themselves, or were called by others, protestants, in England, in the days of queen Elizabeth; perhaps such a man's wit might delight me, but his reasons sure would never persuade me.

Hitherto we should have gone hand in hand together: but whereas in the next place he says, "In like manner then you do not doubt but a catholic, living in a catholic country, may undoubtedly know what was the public religion of his country in his

father's days, and that so assuredly, that it were a mere madness for him to doubt thereof;" I should have craved leave to tell my uncle, that he presumed too far upon his nephew's yielding disposition. For that as it is a far more easy thing to know, and more authentically testified, that there were some men called *protestants* by themselves and others, than what opinions these protestants held, diverse men holding diverse things, which yet were all called by this name; so is it far more easy for a Roman catholic to know, that in his father's days there were some men, for their outward communion with, and subordination to the bishop of Rome, called *Roman catholics*, than to know what was the religion of those men who went under this name: for they might be as different one from another in their belief, as some protestants are from others.

As for example, [a] had I lived in the time of the Nicene council, well might I have known, that part of the religion of my fathers was, that Christ was the Son of God: but whether by eternal generation, or temporal production; whether of the same substance with the Father, or of a diverse substance; whether equal to him or inferior, this I could not so easily have known; for that perhaps there were divers men of diverse opinions in this point before that council. Neither is it probable that Arius could have drawn away so many hundred bishops upon the sudden to his opinion, if the contrary doctrine had before been generally received and settled as an article of faith, by original, constant, universal, and uncontradicted tradition; but rather much more probable, that many were of his opinion (as many of the contrary) before he professed it, who, when the matter came to public contestation, took part, not being seduced by him, but symbolizing

[a] "had I lived—catholic doctrine," p. 395. l. 29.] This is added from the MS. in the Bodleian library, Tanner, N°. 233.

with him. Or, if probabilities will not serve, I say then, it is certain and evident out of their authentical monuments, which yet are extant, that some of the catholic fathers, saints, and martyrs, who lived before the time of the council of Nice, held a different opinion in this matter from the determination of that council: I say held it, and that publicly, and were never condemned nor questioned for it. My proofs are out of Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, and a synod of seventy bishops at once, that condemned Paulus Samosatenus: and it is in a manner confessed by Mr. Fluid, in his treatise of the Nine Questions, that there are some testimonies to this purpose which cannot receive any fair and probable answer. Lastly, St. Jerome justifies in effect all that I pretend in saying.

The same variety of opinion I believe there was before Pelagius' and St. Austin's time, touching the doctrine of original sin; some good catholics believing it, others not. For as for St. Austin's put off, *incautius loquebantur ante mota certamina Pelagiana;* who sees not, first, that the testimonies are too plain to be thus philipped away; especially Tertullian's and Chrysostom's: secondly, that this evasion might have been returned again by Pelagius, who might as fairly have taken from St. Austin the attestations which he allegeth of the former Fathers, with a—*patres securius loquebantur ante mota certamina Augustiniana.*— And therefore here again I might have been at a stand, and not have been able to resolve myself, whether the affirmative were in this point catholic doctrine.

Had I lived before the Lateran council, which condemned Berengarius, possibly I might have known that the belief of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament was part of the public doctrine of my country; but whether the real absence of the bread and wine

after consecration, and their transubstantiation into Christ's body, were likewise catholic doctrine at that time, that I could not have known, seeing that all men were at liberty to hold it was so, or it was not so.

Moreover I should have told my uncle, that living now, I know it is catholic doctrine, that the souls of the blessed enjoy the vision of God; but if I had lived in the reign of pope John XXII, I should not have known that then it was so, considering that many good catholics before that time had believed, and then even the pope himself did believe the contrary: and he is warranted by Bellarmine for doing so, because the church had not then defined it.

I should have told him further, that either catholics of the present time do so differ in their belief, that what some hold lawful and pious, others condemn as unlawful and impious; or else, that all now consent, and consequently make it catholic doctrine, that it is not unlawful to make the usual pictures of the Trinity, and to set them in churches to be adored. But had I lived in St. Austin's time, I should then have been taught another lesson; to wit, that this doctrine and practice was impious, and the contrary doctrine catholic.

[b]Again, I should have objected, that now I am taught that it is no heresy to hold that God's election is absolute, and without consideration of men's faith and good works; that God predetermines men to all their actions, good, bad, and indifferent: but had I lived before St. Austin's time, I should have had reasons to believe that both these doctrines were heretical, if crossing the stream of constant and universal tradition be that which indeed does make a doctrine heretical; which is the only thing that our uncle drives

[b] "Again, I should have objected—infinite in particulars," p. 397, l. 2.] This paragraph is also added from Tanner, N°. 233.

at in all this discourse. Lastly, that I be not infinite in particulars,

I should have told him, that now I was taught that the doctrine of indulgences was an apostolic tradition; but had I lived six hundred years since, and found that in all antiquity there had been no use of them; I should either have thought the primitive church no faithful steward in defrauding men's souls of this treasure intended by God to them, and so necessary for them; or rather, that the doctrine of indulgences, now practised in the church of Rome, was not then catholic.

I should have told him, that the general practice of Roman catholics now taught me, that it was a pious thing to offer incense and tapers to the saints and to their pictures: but had I lived in the primitive church, I should, with the church, have condemned it in the Collyridians as heretical.

I should have represented to him Erasmus's complaint against the protestants, whose departing from the Roman church occasioned the determining and exacting the belief of many points as necessary, wherein, before Luther, men enjoyed the liberties of their judgments and tongues and pens. *Antea*, says he, *licebat varias agitare quæstiones, de potestate pontificis, de condonationibus, de restituendo, de purgatorio; nunc tutum non est hiscere, ne de his quidem, quæ pie vereque dicuntur. Et credere cogimur, quod homo gignit ex se opera meritoria, quod benefactis meretur vitam æternam, etiam de condigno, quod B. Virgo potest imperare filio cum patre regnanti, ut exaudiat hujus aut illius preces, aliave permulta, ad quæ piæ mentes inhorrescunt.* And from hence I should have collected, as I think, very probably, that it was not then such a known and certain thing, what was the catholic faith in many points, which now are

determined; but that divers men who held external communion with that church, which now holds these as matters of faith, conceived themselves no ways bound to do so, but at liberty to hold as they saw reason.

I should have shewed him, by the confession of another learned catholic, that through the negligence of the bishops in former ages, and the indiscreet devotion of the people, many opinions and practices were brought into the church, which at first perhaps were but winked at, after tolerated, after approved, and at length, after they had spread themselves into a seeming generality, confirmed for good and catholic; and that therefore there was no certainty that that came from the beginning, whose beginning was not known.

I should have remembered him, that even by the acknowledgment of the council of Trent, many corruptions and superstitions had by insensible degrees insinuated themselves into the very mass and offices of the church, which they thought fit to cast out; and therefore, seeing that some abuses have come in, God knows how, and have been cast out again, who can ascertain me, that some errors have not got in, and while men slept (for it is apparent they did sleep) gathered such strength, got such deep root, and so incorporated themselves, like ivy in a wall, in the state and policy of the Roman church, that to pull them up, had been to pull that down, by razing the foundation on which it stands, to wit, the church's infallibility? Besides, as much water passes under a mill, which the miller sees not; so who can warrant me, that some old corruptions might not escape them, and pass for original and apostolic traditions? I say, might not, though they had been as studious to reduce all to the primitive state, as they were to preserve them in the present state; as diligent to cast out all postnate

and introduced opinions, as they were to persuade men that there were none such, but all as truly catholic and apostolic, as they were Roman.

I should have declared unto him, that many things reckoned up in the bead-roll of traditions are now grown out of fashion, and out of use in the church of Rome; and therefore, that either they believed them not, whatever they pretended, or were not so obedient to the apostle's command, as they themselves interpret it, *Keep the traditions which ye have received, whether by word, or by our epistle.*

And seeing there have been so many vicissitudes and changes in the Roman church; catholic doctrines growing exolete, and being degraded from their catholicism, and perhaps depressed into the number of heresies; points of indifference, or at least aliens from the faith, getting first to be inmates, after, procuring to be made denizens, and in process of time necessary members of the body of the faith; nay old heresies sometimes, like old snakes, casting their skin and their poison together, and becoming wholesome and catholic doctrines; I must have desired pardon of my uncle, if I were not so undoubtedly certain, what was and what was not catholic doctrine in the days of my fathers.

Nay perhaps I should have gone further, and told him, that I was not fully assured what was the catholic doctrine in some points, no not at this present time. For instance, (to lay the axe unto the root of the tree,) the infallibility of the present church of Rome in determining controversies of faith, is esteemed indeed by divers that I have met with, not only an article of faith, but a foundation of all other articles. But how do I know there are not, nay why should I think there are not, in the world divers good catholics, of the same mind touching this matter, which Mirandula,

Panormitan, Cusanus, Florentinus, Clemangis, Waldensis, Occham, and divers others were of; who were so far from holding this doctrine the foundation of faith, that they would not allow it any place in the fabric.

Now Bellarmine has taught us that no doctrine is catholic, nor the contrary heretical, that is denied to be so by some good catholics. From hence I collect, that in the time of the forenamed authors this was not catholic doctrine, nor the contrary heretical; and being then not so, how it could since become so I cannot well understand. If it be said, that it has since been defined by a general council; I say, first, this is false: no council has been so foolish as to define that a council is infallible; for unless it were presumed to be infallible before, who or what could assure us of the truth of this definition? Secondly, if it were true, it were ridiculous: for he that would question the infallibility of all councils in all their decrees, would as well question the infallibility of this council in this decree. This therefore was not, is not, nor ever can be an article of faith, unless God himself would be pleased (which is not very likely) to make some new revelation of it from heaven.

The πρῶτον ψεῦδος, the fountain of the error in this matter, is this, that the whole religion of the Roman church, and every point of it, is conceived or pretended to have issued originally out of the fountain of apostolic tradition, either in themselves, or in the principles from which they are evidently deducible; whereas it is evident, that many of their doctrines may be originally derived from the decrees of councils, many from papal definitions, many from the authority of some great man; to which purpose it is very remarkable what Gregory Nazianzen says of Athanasius: "What

pleased him, was a law to men; what did not please him, was a thing prohibited by law: his decrees were to them like Moses his tables, and he had a greater veneration paid him, than seems to be due from men to saints[a]."

And as memorable, that in the late great controversy about predetermination and freewill, disputed before pope Clement VII. by the Jesuits and Dominicans, the pope's resolution was, if he had determined the matter, to define for that opinion which was most agreeable, not to scripture, not to apostolic tradition, nor to a consent of Fathers, but to the doctrine of St. Austin; so that if the pope had made an article of faith of this controversy, it is evident St. Austin had been the rule of it. Though in this matter he does certainly contradict the dream of the Fathers that went before him.

Sometimes upon erroneous grounds customs have been brought in, God knows how, and after have spread themselves through the whole church. Thus Gordonius Huntleius confesses, that because baptism and the eucharist had been anciently given both together to men of ripe years, when they were converted to Christianity; afterwards by error, when infants were baptized, they gave the eucharist also to infants. This custom in short time grew universal, and in St. Austin's time passed currently for an apostolic tradition, and the eucharist was thought as necessary for them as baptism. This custom the church of Rome hath again cast out, and in so doing professed, either

[a] Τοῦτο ἦν νόμος αὐτοῖς ὅ τι ἐκείνῳ ἐδόκει, καὶ τοῦτο ἀπώμοτον πάλιν, ὃ μὴ ἐδόκει· καὶ πλάκες Μωϋσέως αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐκείνου δόγματα, καὶ πλεῖον τὸ σέβας ἢ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων τοῖς ἁγίοις ὀφειλέται. Orat. XXI. in laudem Athan. [The passage of Greg. Naz. is omitted in the MS. From which the words "Though in—before him," in the next paragraph, are added.]

her no regard to the traditions of the apostles, or that this was none of that number. But yet she cannot possibly avoid but that this example is a proof sufficient, that many things may get in by error into the church, and by degrees obtain the esteem and place of apostolic traditions, which yet were not so.

The custom of denying the laity the sacramental cup, and the doctrine that it is lawful to do so, who can without impudence pretend that it was *a principio* and came from apostolic tradition? especially when the council of Constance[b], the patrons of it, confesses, that both Christ's institution was under both kinds, and that the faithful in the primitive church received it in both. *Licet Christus*, &c.; "Although Christ, say they, after his supper instituted and administered this venerable sacrament under both kinds—although in the primitive church this sacrament were received by the faithful under both kinds"—*non obstante*, &c., "yet all this notwithstanding, this custom, for the avoiding of scandals," (to which yet the primitive church was as obnoxious as the present is,) "was upon just reason brought in, that laics should receive only under one kind".

Brought in therefore it was, and therefore this is one of those doctrines which Lerinensis calls, *inducta non tradita, inventa non accepta*, and therefore all the doctrine of the Roman church does not descend from apostolic tradition.

But if this custom came not from the apostles, from what original may we think that it descended? Certainly from no other than from the belief of the substantial presence of whole Christ under either kind. For this opinion being once settled in the people's minds, that they had as much by one kind as by both;

[b] Sess. XIII.

both priest and people quickly began to think it superfluous to do the same thing twice at the same time; and thereupon, being (as I suppose) the custom required, that the bread should be received first, having received that, they were contented that the priest should save the pains, and the parish the charges of an unnecessary reiteration. This is my conjecture, which I submit to better judgments; but whether it be true or false, one thing from hence is certain, that immemorial customs may by degrees prevail upon the church, such as have no known beginning nor author; of which yet this may be evidently known, that their beginning, whensoever it was, was many years, nay, many ages after the apostles.

St. Paul commands[c], that nothing be done in the church, but for edification. He says, and if that be not enough, he proves, in the same place, that it is not for edification that either public prayers, thanksgiving, and hymns to God, or doctrine to the people should be in any language, which the assistants generally understand not; and thereupon forbids any such practice, though it were in a language miraculously infused into the speaker by the Holy Ghost, unless he himself, or some other present, could and would interpret. He tells us, that to do otherwise is to speak into the air; that it is to play the barbarians one to another; that to such blessings and thanksgivings the ignorant, for want of understanding, cannot say Amen. He clearly intimates, that to think otherwise is to be children in understanding. Lastly, in the end of the chapter he commands all that were prophets and spiritual among the Corinthians, that the things written by him are the commandments of God. Hereupon Lyranus upon the place acknowledgeth, that in the primitive church blessings

[c] 1 Cor. xiv. 26, 27, 28.

and all other services were done in the vulgar tongue. Cardinal Cajetan likewise upon the place tells us, that out of this doctrine of St. Paul it is consequent, that it were better for the edification of the church, that the public prayers, which are said in the people's hearing, should be delivered in a language common both to the clergy and the people. And I am confident, that the learnedest antiquary in the Roman church cannot, nay, that Baronius himself, were he alive again, could not produce so much as one example of any one church, one city, one parish, in all the Christian world, for five hundred years after Christ, where the sermons to the people were in one language, and the service in another. Now it is confessed on all hands to be against sense and reason, that sermons should be made to the people in any language not understood by them; and therefore it follows of necessity, that their service likewise was in those tongues which the people of the place understood.

But what talk we of 500 years after Christ? when even the Lateran council held in the year 1215 makes this decree: *Quoniam in plerisque*, &c.; "Because in many parts within the same city and diocese, people are mixed of diverse languages, having under one faith diverse rights and fashions, we strictly command, that the bishops of the said cities or dioceses provide fit and able men, who according to the diversities of their rites and languages may celebrate Divine services, and administer the sacraments of the church, instructing them both in word and example."

Now after all this, if any man will still maintain that the Divine service in unknown tongues is a matter of apostolic tradition, I must needs think the world is grown very impudent.

There are divers doctrines in the Roman church, which have not yet arrived to the honour to be *donatæ*

civitate, to be received into the number of articles of faith; which yet press very hard for it, and through the importunity and multitude of their attorneys that plead for them, in process of time may very probably be admitted. Of this rank are the blessed Virgin's immaculate conception, the pope's infallibility in determining controversies, his superiority to councils, his indirect power over princes in temporalties, &c. Now as these are not yet matters of faith and apostolic traditions, yet in after-ages, in the days of our great grandchildren, may very probably become so; why should we not fear and suspect, that many things now pass currently as points of faith, which *ecclesia ab apostolis, apostoli a Christo, Christus a Deo recepit* which perhaps in the days of our great grandfathers had no such reputation.

Cardinal Perron teaches us two rules whereby to know the doctrine of the church of any age. The first is, when the most eminent Fathers of any age agree in the affirmation of any doctrine, and none of their contemporaries oppose or condemn, that is to be accounted the doctrine of the church. The second, when one or more of these eminent Fathers speak of any doctrine, not as doctors, but as witnesses, and say, not, "I think so, or hold so," but, "The church holds and believes this to be truth;" that is to be accounted the doctrine of the church. Now if neither of these rules be good and certain, then we are destitute of all means to know what was the public doctrine of the church in the days of our Fathers; but on the other side, if either of them be true, we run into a worse inconvenience; for then surely the doctrine of the millenaries must be acknowledged to have been the doctrine of the church in the very next age after the apostles. For both the most eminent Fathers of that time, and

even all, whose monuments are extant, or mention made of them, viz. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Melito Sardensis, agree in the affirmation of this point, and none of their contemporaries oppose or condemn it. And besides, they speak of it not as doctors, but as witnesses; not as of their own private opinion, but as apostolic tradition, and the doctrine of the church.

Horantius, and out of him Franciscus à Sancta Clara, teach us, that under the gospel there is nowhere extant any precept of invocating saints; and tells us, that the apostles' reason of their giving no such precept was, lest the converted Gentiles might think themselves drawn over from one kind of idolatry to another. If this reason be good, I hope then the position, whereof it is the reason, is true; viz. that the apostles did neither command, nor teach, nor advise, nor persuade the converted Gentiles to invocate saints, (for the reason here rendered serves for all alike,) and if they did not, and for this reason did not so; how then, in God's name, comes invocation of saints to be an apostolic tradition?

The doctrines of purgatory, indulgences, and prayer to deliver souls out of purgatory, are so closely conjoined, that they must either stand or fall together; at least, the first being the foundation of the other two, if that be not apostolic tradition, the rest cannot be so. And if that be so, what meant the author of the Book of Wisdom to tell us, that (after death) *the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them?* What means St. John to teach us, that *they are blessed which die in the Lord, for that they rest from their labours?* But above all, what meant bishop Fisher, in his confutation of Luther's assertion, so to prevaricate, as to me he seems to do, in the 18th art. in saying, *Multos fortasse movet,*

&c.? "Peradventure many are moved not to place so great faith in indulgences, because the use of them may seem not of long standing in the church, and a very late invention among Christians. To whom I answer, That it is not certain by whom they began first to be taught: therefore it is not, that all the Roman doctrine came from Christ and his apostles. Yet some use of them there was, as they say, very ancient among the Romans, which we are given to understand by the stations which were so frequented in that city. Moreover they say Gregory I. granted some in his time." And after; *Cæterum, ut dicere cœpimus,* &c.; "But, as we were saying, there are many things of which in the primitive church no mention was made, which yet, upon doubts arising, are become perspicuous through the diligence of after-times. Certainly (to return to our business) no orthodox man now doubts whether there be a purgatory, of which yet among the ancients there was made very rare or no mention. Moreover the Greeks to this very day believe not purgatory. Whoso will, let him read the writings of the ancient Greeks, and, as I think, he shall find no speech of purgatory, or else very rarely. The Latins also received not this verity all at once, but by little and little. Neither was the faith, whether of purgatory or indulgences, so necessary in the primitive church, as now it is; for then charity was so fervent, that every one was most ready to die for Christ. Crimes were very rare, and those which were, were punished by the canons with great severity. But now a great part of the people would rather put off Christianity, than suffer the rigour of the canons. That not without the great wisdom of the Holy Spirit, it hath come to pass, that after the course of so many years the faith of purgatory, and the use of indulgences, hath been by the orthodox generally received. As long as

there was no care of purgatory, no man looked after indulgences, for all the credit of indulgences depends on that. Take away purgatory, and what need is there of indulgences? We therefore considering that purgatory was a long while unknown; that after, partly upon revelations, partly upon scripture, it was believed by some, and that so at length the faith of it was most generally received by the orthodox church, shall easily find out some reason of indulgences. Seeing therefore it was so late ere purgatory was known and received by the universal church, who now can wonder, touching indulgences, that in the primitive church there was no use of them? Indulgences therefore began after men had trembled a while at the torments of purgatory. For then, it is credible, the holy Fathers began to think more carefully, by what means they might provide for their flocks a remedy against those torments, for them especially, who had not time enough to fulfil the penance which the canons enjoined."

Erasmus tells us of himself, that though he did certainly know, and could prove, that auricular confession, such as in the use of the Roman church, were not of Divine institution; yet he would not say so, because he conceived confession a great restraint from sin, and very profitable for the times he lived in; and therefore thought it expedient, that men should rather by error hold that necessary and commanded, which was only profitable and advised, than by believing, though truly, the non-necessity of it, to neglect the use of that, as by experience we see most men do, which was so beneficial. If he thought so of confession, and yet thought it not fit to speak his mind, why might he not think the like of other points, and yet out of discretion and charity hold his peace? And why might not others of his time do so as well as he? And if so, how shall I

be assured, that in the ages before him there were not other men alike minded, who, though they knew and saw errors and corruptions in the church, yet conceiving more danger in the remedy than harm in the disease, were contented *hoc Catone*, to let things alone as they were, lest by attempting to pluck the ivy out of the wall, they might pull down the wall itself, with which the ivy was so incorporated?

Sir Edwin Sandys relates, that in his travels he met with divers men, who, though they believed the pope to be antichrist, and his church antichristian, yet thought themselves not bound to separate from the communion of it; nay, thought themselves bound not to do so, because the true church was to be the seat of antichrist, from the communion whereof no man might divide himself upon any pretence whatsoever.

And much to this purpose is that which Charron tells us in his third *Verite*, cap. 4. §. 13, 15. that although all that, which the protestants say falsely of the church of Rome, were true, yet for all this they must not depart from it. And again: though the pope were antichrist, and the estate of the church were such (that is, as corrupt both in discipline and doctrine) as they (protestants) pretend, yet they must not go out of it. Both these assertions he proves at large in the above-cited paragraphs, with very many and very plausible reasons; which, I believe, would prove his intent, had not the corruptions of the Roman church possessed and infected even the public service of God among them, in which their communion was required; and did not the church of Rome require the belief of all her errors, as the condition of her communion. But howsoever, be his reasons conclusive or not conclusive, certainly this was the professed opinion of him and divers others; as, by name, Cassander and

Baldwin; who, though they thought as ill of the doctrine of the most prevailing part of the church of Rome as protestants do, yet thought it their duty not to separate from her communion. And if there were any considerable number of considerable men thus minded, (as I know not why any man should think there was not,) then it is made, not only a most difficult, but even an impossible thing, to know what was the catholic judgment of our Fathers in the points of controversy; seeing they might be joined in communion, and yet very far divided in opinion: they might all live in obedience to the pope, and yet some think him head of the church by Divine right; others (as a great part of the French church at this day) by ecclesiastical constitution; others by neither, but by practice and usurpation, wherein yet, because he had prescription of many ages for him, he might not justly be disturbed.

All might go to confession, and yet some only think it necessary, others only profitable. All might go to mass and the other services of the church, and some only like and approve the language of it; others only tolerate it, and wish it altered, if it might be without greater inconvenience. All might receive the sacrament, and yet some believe it to be the body and blood of Christ, others only a sacrament of it. Some, that the mass was a true and proper sacrifice, others, only a commemorative sacrifice, or the commemoration of a sacrifice. Some, that it was lawful for the clergy to deny the laity the sacramental cup; others, that it was lawful for them to receive in one kind only, seeing they could not both. Some might adore Christ as present there according to his humanity, others as present according to his Divine nature only. Some might pray for the dead, as believing them in purgatory; others upon no certain ground, but only

that they should rather have their prayers and charity, which wanted them not, than that they, which did want them, should not have them. Some might pray to saints, upon a belief that they heard their prayers, and knew their hearts; others might pray to them, meaning nothing but to pray by them, that God for their sakes would grant their prayers; others, thirdly, might not pray to them at all, as thinking it unnecessary; others, as fearing it unlawful, yet because they were not fully resolved, only forbearing it themselves, and not condemning it in others.

Uncle. I pray you then remember also what it is that protestants do commonly taunt and check catholics with; is it not that they believe traditions?

Nephew. It is a mere calumny, that protestants condemn all kind of traditions, who subscribe very willingly to that of Vincentius, that Christian religion is *res tradita, non inventa,* "a matter of tradition, not of man's invention;" is what the church received from the apostles, (and by consequence what the apostles delivered to the church,) and the apostles from Christ, and Christ from God. Chemnitius, in his Examen of the council of Trent, hath liberally granted seven sorts of traditions, and protestants find no fault with him for it. Prove therefore any tradition to be apostolic, which is not written; shew that there is some known word of God, which we are commanded to believe, that is not contained in the books of the Old and New Testament, and we shall quickly shew, that we believe God's word, because it is God's, and not because it is written. If there were any thing not written, which had come down to us with as full and as universal a tradition as the unquestioned books of canonical scripture, that thing should I believe as well as the scripture; but I have long sought for some such

thing, and yet I am to seek; nay, I am confident no one point in controversy between papists and protestants can go in upon half so fair cards, for to gain the esteem of an apostolic tradition, as those things which are now decried on all hands; I mean the opinion of the Chiliasts, and the communicating infants. The latter, by the confession of cardinal Perron, Maldonate, and Binius, was the custom of the church for six hundred years at least; it is expressly and in terms vouched by St. Austin for the doctrine of the church, and an apostolic tradition; it was never instituted by a general council, but in the use of the church as long before the first general council, as St. Cyprian before that council; there is no known author nor beginning of it; all which are the catholic marks of an apostolic tradition; and yet this you say is not so, or if it be, why have you abolished it? The former lineally derives its pedigree from our Saviour to St. John; from St. John to Papias; from Papias to Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Melito Sardensis, Tertullian, and others of the two first ages; who, as they generally agree in the affirmation of this doctrine, and are not contradicted by any of their predecessors, so some of them at least speak to the point, not as doctors, but witnesses, and deliver it for the doctrine of the church and apostolic tradition, and condemn the contrary as heresy. And therefore, if there be any unwritten traditions, these certainly must be admitted first; or if these, which have so fair pretence to it, must yet be rejected I hope then we shall have the like liberty to put back purgatory, and indulgences, and transubstantiation, and the Latin service, and the communion in one kind, &c., none of which is of age enough to be page to either of the forenamed doctrines, especially the opinion of the millenaries.

Uncle. What think you means this word *tradition?* No other thing certainly, but that we confute all our adversaries by the testimony of the former church; saying unto them, This was the belief of our fathers; thus were we taught by them, and they by theirs without stop or stay till you come to Christ.

Nephew. We confute our adversaries by saying thus—Truly a very easy confutation! But saying and proving are two men's offices; and therefore though you be excellent in the former, I fear, when it comes to the trial, you will be found defective in the latter.

Uncle. And this no other but the Roman catholic church did or could ever pretend to, which being in truth undeniable, and they cannot choose but grant the thing, their last refuge is to laugh, and say, that both fathers and councils did err, because they were men, as if protestants themselves were more. Is it not so as I tell you?

Nephew. No indeed, it is not, by your leave, good uncle. For, first, the Greek church, as everybody knows, pretends to perpetual succession of doctrine, and undertakes to derive it from Christ and his apostles, as confidently as we do ours. Neither is there any word in all this discourse, but might have been urged as fairly and as probably for the Greek church as for the Roman. And therefore, seeing your arguments fight for both alike, they must either conclude for both, which is a direct impossibility, for then contradictions should be both true; or else, which is most certain, they conclude for neither, and are not demonstrations, as you pretend, (for never any demonstration would prove both parts of a contradiction,) but mere sophisms and captions, as the progress of our answer shall justify.

Secondly, It is so far from protestants to grant the

thing you speak of, to wit, that the controverted doctrines of the Roman church came from apostolic tradition, that they verily believe, should the apostles now live again, they would hardly be able to find amongst you the doctrine which they taught, by reason of abundance of trash and rubbish which you have laid upon it.

And lastly, they pretend not, that fathers and councils may err, and they cannot; nor that they were men, and themselves are not; but that you do most unjustly and vainly to father your brats of yesterday upon the fathers and councils.

Uncle. I know that we catholics do reverence traditions as much as scripture itself; neither do I see why we should be blamed for it; for the words which Christ and his apostles spake must needs be as infallible as those which were written.

Nephew. True. But still the question depends, whether Christ and his apostles did indeed speak those words which you pretend they did. We say with Irenæus, *Præconiaverunt primum, scripserunt postea;* "What they preached first, that they wrote afterwards." We say with Tertullian; (*Ecclesias*) *apostoli condiderunt, ipsi eis prædicando, tam viva, quod aiunt, voce, quam per epistolas postea;* "The apostles founded the churches by their preaching to them, first by word of mouth, then after by their writings." If you can prove the contrary, do so, and we yield; but hitherto you do nothing.

Uncle. And as for the keeping of it, I see the scripture itself is beholding to tradition (God's providence presupposed) for the integrity both of the letter and the sense. Of the letter it is confessed; of the sense manifest. For the sense being a distinct thing from the naked letter, and rather fetched out by force of

consequence, than in express and formal terms contained, (which is most true, whether we speak of protestant sense or the catholic,) it belongeth rather to tradition than express text of scripture.

Nephew. That which you desire to conclude, is, that we must be beholding to tradition for the sense of scripture; and your reason to conclude this is, because the sense is fetched out by force of consequence. This of some places of scripture is not true, especially those which belong to faith and good manners, which carry their meaning in their foreheads. Of others it is true, but nothing to the purpose in hand, but rather directly against it. For who will not say, if I collect the sense of scripture by reason, then I have it not from authority? that is, unless I am mistaken, if I fetch it out by force of consequence, then I am not beholding to tradition for it. But the letter of scripture hath been preserved by tradition, and therefore why should we not receive other things upon tradition as well as scripture? I answer, the Jews' tradition preserved the books of the Old Testament, and why then doth our Saviour receive these upon their tradition, and yet condemn other things, which they suggested as matters of tradition? If you say it was because these traditions came not from Moses, as they were pretended; I say also, that yours also are only pretended, and not proved to come from the apostles. Prove your tradition of these additions as well as you prove the tradition of scripture, and assure yourselves, we then, according to the injunction of the council of Trent, shall receive both with equal reverence.

Uncle. As it may appear by the sense of these few words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, whether you take the protestant or the catholic sense: for the same text cannot have two contrary senses of itself, but as they

are fetched out by force of argument; and therefore what sense hath best tradition to shew for itself, that is the truth.

Nephew. This is neither protestant nor catholic sense; but, if we may speak the truth, direct nonsense. For what if the same text cannot have contrary senses, is there therefore no means but tradition to determine which is the true sense? What connexion, or what relation is there between this antecedent and this consequent? Certainly they are mere strangers one to another, and until they met by chance in this argument, never saw each other before. He that can find a third proposition to join them together in a good syllogism, I profess unto you, *erit mihi magnus Apollo.* But what if, of these two contrary senses, the one, that is the literal, draw after it a long train of absurdities and impieties; the other, that is, the figurative, do not so, have we not reason enough, without advising with tradition about the matter, to reject the literal sense and embrace the spiritual? St. Austin certainly thought we had; for he gives us this direction in his book, *De Doctrina Christiana;* and the first and fittest text that he could choose to exemplify his rule, what think you is it, but even the cousin-german to that which you have made choice of; *Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man,* &c. Here, saith he, the letter seems to command impiety; *figura est ergo,* therefore it is a figure, commanding to feed devoutly upon the passion of our Lord, and to lay up in our memory, that Christ was crucified for us.

Uncle. These particulars, peradventure, would require a further discussion; and now I will take nothing but what is undeniable. As this is, to wit, that what points are in controversy betwixt us and protestants, we believe to have been delivered by Christ and his apostles to our forefathers, and by them delivered from

hand to hand to our fathers, whom we know to have delivered for such unto us, and to have received and believed them for such themselves.

Chillingworth.

Certainly, though ink and paper cannot blush, yet I dare say you were fain to rub your forehead over and over before you committed this [to] writing. Say what you list, for my part I am so far from believing you, that I do verily believe you do not believe yourselves, when you pretend that you believe those points of your doctrine, which are in controversy, to have been delivered to your forefathers by Christ and his apostles. Is it possible, that any sober man, who has read the New Testament, should believe that Christ and his apostles taught Christians, that it was fit and lawful to deny the laity the sacramental cup? that it was expedient, and for the edification of the church, that the scripture should be read, and the public worship of God perpetually celebrated, in a language which they understand not, and to which, for want of understanding, (unless St. Paul deceive us,) they cannot say Amen? or is it reasonable you should desire us to believe you, when your own men, your own champions, your own councils, confess the contrary?

Does not the council of Constance acknowledge plainly, that the custom, which they ratified, was contrary to Christ's institution, and the custom of the primitive church? And how then was it taught by Christ and his apostles?

Does not Cajetan and Lyranus confess ingenuously, that it follows evidently from St. Paul, that it is more for edification, that the liturgies of the church should be in such language as the assistants understand?

The like confession we have from others concerning purgatory and indulgences.

Others acknowledge the apostles never taught invocation of saints.

Rhenanus says as much touching auricular confession.

It is evident from Peter Lombard, that the doctrine of transubstantiation was not a point of faith in his time.

From Picus Mirandula, that the infallibility of the church was no article, much less a foundation of faith in his time.

Bellarmine acknowledges, that the saints enjoying the vision of God before the day of judgment, was no article of faith in the time of pope John XXII.

But as the proverb is, When thieves fall out, true men recover their goods; so how subdolous and hypocritical the reverence of the church of Rome is to ancient tradition, cannot be more plainly discovered, than by the quarrels which her champions have amongst themselves, especially about the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin.

The patrons of the negative opinion, Cajetan, Bannes, Bandellus, and Canus, allege for it, first, a whole army of scriptures, councils, and fathers, agreeing unanimously in this doctrine, that only Christ was free from sin. Then an innumerous multitude of Fathers, expressly affirming the very point in question, not contradicted by any of their contemporaries or predecessors, or indeed of their successors for many ages.

All the holy Fathers agree in this, that the Virgin Mary contracted original sin. So Bannes[a].

Cajetan brings for it fifteen Fathers, in his judgment irrefragable; others produce two hundred; Bandellus almost three hundred. Thus Salmeron[b].

[a] In part. prim. 1. art. 8. dub. 3. [b] Disp. 51. in Ep. ad Rom.

That all the holy Fathers, who have fallen upon the mention of this matter, with one mouth affirm, that the blessed Virgin was conceived in original sin. So Canus[c].

And after: [cc]that the contrary doctrine has neither scripture nor tradition for it. "For," saith he, "no traditions can be derived unto us, but by the bishops and holy Fathers, the successors of the apostles; and it is certain, that those ancient writers received it not from their predecessors.

Now against this stream of ancient writers, when the contrary new doctrine came in, and how it prevailed, it will be worth the considering.

The first that set it abroach was Richardus de Sancto Victore, as his countryman Joannes Major testifies of him[d]: "He was expressly the first that held the Virgin Mary free from original sin:" or, "he was the first that expressly held so."

Soon after upon this false ground, which had already taken deep root in the heart of Christians, that it was impossible to give too much honour to her that was the mother of the Saviour of the world, like ill weeds, it grew and spread apace. So that in the council of Basil[e], (which Binius tells us was reprobated but in part, to wit, in the point of the authority of councils, and in the deposition of Eugenius the pope,) it was defined and declared to be holy doctrine, and consonant to the worship of the church, to the catholic faith, to right reason, and the holy scripture, and to be approved, held, and embraced by all catholics; and that it should be lawful for no man for the time to come to preach or teach the contrary. The custom also of keeping the

[c] Lib. 7. loc. cap. 1. [cc] Cap. 3. n. 9.

[d] Lib. 3. c. 11. *De Gestis Scotorum*, Omnium expresse primus Christiferam virginem originalis noxæ expertem tenuit.

[e] Sess. 36.

feast of her holy conception, which before was but particular to the Roman and some other churches, and, it seems, somewhat neglected, was then renewed and made universal, and commanded to be celebrated, *sub nomine conceptionis*; "under the name of the conception." Binius in a marginal note tells us indeed, that they celebrate not this feast in the church of Rome, by virtue of this renovation, *cum esset conciliabulum*, being this was the act not of a council, but of a conventicle; yet he himself in his index styles it the œcumenical council of Basil, and tells [us,] that it was reprobated only in two points, whereof this is none. Now whom shall we believe? Binius in his margin, or Binius in his index?

Yet in after-times pope Sixtus IV. and Pius V. thought not this decree so binding, but that they might and did put life again into the condemned opinion, giving liberty by their constitutions to all men to hold and maintain either part; either that the blessed Virgin was conceived with original sin, or was not. Which constitutions the council of Trent in their 5th session renewed and confirmed.

But the wheel again turning, and the negative opinion prevailing, the affirmative was banished, first by a decree of Paul V. from all public sermons, lectures, conclusions, and all public acts whatsoever; and since, by another decree of Gregory XV, from all private writings and private conferences.

But yet all this contents not the university of Paris. They, as Salmeron tells us, admit none to the degree of doctor of divinity, unless they first bind themselves by solemn oath to maintain the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin.

Now I beseech you, Mr. R., consider your courses with some indifference.

First, you take authority upon you, against the

universal, constant, unopposed tradition of the church for many ages, to set up, as a rival, a new, upstart, yesterday's invention, and to give all men liberty to hold which they please. So Pope Sixtus IV, Pius V, and the council of Trent. That is, you make it lawful to hold the ancient faith, or not to hold it, nay, to hold the contrary. This is high presumption: but you stay not here; for,

Secondly, the ancient doctrine you cloister and hook up within the narrow, close, and dark rooms of the thoughts and brains of the defenders of it, forbidding them, upon pain of damnation, so much as to whisper it in their private discourses and writings; and in the mean time the new doctrine you set at full liberty, and give leave, nay countenance and encouragement, to all men to employ their time, and wits, and tongues, and pens, in the maintenance and propagation of it. Thus Paul V. and Gregory XV. Yet this is not all: for,

Thirdly, you bind men by oaths to defend the new opinion, and to oppose the ancient. So the university of Paris. Yet still you proceed further: for,

Fourthly, by your general councils, confirmed by your Pope, you have declared and defined, that this new invention is agreeable, and consequently that the ancient doctrine is repugnant, to the catholic faith, to reason, to the holy scripture. So the council of Basil.

These things I entreat you to weigh well in your consideration, and put not into the scale above a just allowance, not above three grains of partiality, and then tell me, whether you can with reason or with modesty suppose or desire, that we should believe, or think that you believe, that all the points of doctrine, which you contest against us, were delivered at first by Christ and his apostles, and have ever since, by the

succession of bishops and pastors, been preserved inviolate, and propagated unto you.

The patrons, I confess, of this new invention set not much by the decree of the council of Basil for it, but plead very hard for a full and final definition of it from the see apostolic: and finding the conspiring opposition of the ancient Fathers to be the main impediment of their purpose, it is strange to see how confidently they ride over them.

"First," says Salmeron in the place forecited[h], "they press us with a multitude of doctors, of whom we must not say that they err in a matter of such moment.

"We answer," says he, "out of Austin[i], and out of the doctrine of St. Thomas, that the argument drawn from authority is weak. Then to that multitude of doctors we oppose another multitude.

"Thirdly, we object to the contrary the efficacy of reasons, which are more excellent than any authority.

"Some of them reckon two hundred Fathers, others, as Bandellus, three hundred, Cajetan fifteen, but those, as he says, irrefragable. But as a wise shepherd said, *Pauperis est numerare pecus.* Some of those, whom they produce, are of an exolete authority, and scarce worthy of memory.

"Lastly, against this objected multitude we answer with the word of God, *Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil; neither shalt thou in judgment yield to the sentence of many to depart from the truth*[k]. For when the Donatists gloried in the multitude of their authors, Austin answered, "It was a sign of a cause destitute of truth, to rely only upon the authority of many men, which may err."

[h] Disp. 51. in Epist. ad Rom.

[i] De Moribus Ecclesiæ, lib. 1. cap. 2.

[k] Exod. xxiii. 2.

"It falls out sometimes also, that from some one doctor, especially if he be famous, proceeds a multitude of followers of his opinion; and some, taken with an humble and pious fear, choose rather to follow the opinion of another against their mind, than to bring out of their own wit any thing new, lest they should so bring any new thing into the church. Whose humility, as it is to be praised, so the confidence of others is not to be condemned, who for the love of truth fear not to bring in better things. Thus St. Hierom, in his sermon of the assumption, (if it be his,) fears to affirm, that the Virgin Mary is assumed into heaven, and thinks it rather to be piously desired than rashly defined. But Austin more happily dared to affirm it, and settle it with many arguments, by which adventure this the church hath gained, that persuaded by his reasons she hath believed it, and celebrates it in her worship." (In the margent here he says, "The doctrine of Austin alone hath brought into the church the worship of the blessed Virgin's assumption.")

"But they fetch their arguments from the antiquity of the doctors, to which always greater honour was given than to novelties. But I answer, old men are praisers of ancient times, but we affirm, the younger the doctors are, the more perspicuous. Moreover we say, that although they were ancient, yet they were men, and themselves held under the darkness of original sin, and might err. But go to, who are these ancients? are they apostles, are they Ambrose or Hierom, or Austin? But none of them discussed this controversy on purpose.

"Chrysostom is opposed in his commentary on St. Matthew, where he saith, 'Though Christ were not a sinner, yet he has human nature from a sinner.

Understand," says Salmeron, "from her, who of herself, and according to the condition of nature, was a sinner. Thomas says, that Chrysostom speaks exorbitantly, for he constitutes the Virgin under actual sin; or, that the commentaries, which go up and down under his name, are not his; or, that these passages are adjectitious; or, if they be indeed his, with the good leave and favour of so great a man, they are to be rejected. Neither ought any man to marvel that he, and Bernard, and Thomas, and Bonaventure, and Alexander of Ales, and Albert, and Durand, and Ægidius, and, lastly, the greater part, followed that opinion; both because they were men, and because in progress [of] time new mysteries are revealed, which before were unknown. For as holiness of life purgeth no man from sin, so it frees no man from danger of error. Every age finds out some verities proper to itself, which the former ages were ignorant of." And there in the margin, "Every age hath its peculiar Divine revelations."

Thus far D. Salmeron: by whom we may see, that protestants are not the only men who say, that the Fathers may err; but that Roman catholics too can and dare valiantly break through and tread under their feet, (though perhaps with cap in hand, and some show of reverence,) and even ride over whole bands of Fathers, when they stand in their way.

Another great Achilles for the same opinion is one Joannes Baptista Poza, a Jesuit, and professor of divinity at Complutum. He, in his fourth book of his *Elucidarium Deiparæ*, pleads very earnestly to have it defined, and labours very lustily to remove all exceptions to the contrary, but above all, these many ones, that there is no tradition for it, that the stream of

ancient tradition is against it, and therefore well and worthily may it be condemned for an heresy; but to be canonized among the articles of the faith, it can with no reason expect.

To the second exception he brings two answers, which Salmeron, it seems, forgot, in the prosecution whereof he hath many excellent passages, which I have thought good to cull out of him, to evidence the wonderful reverence and constant regard of the present church of Rome to the tradition of the ancient.

The first, that it is possible the writings of the Fathers, out of which these testimonies against the immaculate conception are taken, may be corrupted. But to shew it probable they are so in these places, he speaks not one word of sense, nor so much as any colourable reason, unless this may pass for one, (as perhaps it may where reasons are scarce;) No proposition, which contradicts the common judgment of the Fathers, can be probable: but it is *de fide*, that our opinion is probable. (I should rather subsume, "but this does so; therefore not probable.") For the council of Trent hath made it so, by giving liberty to all to hold it: therefore without doubt we must hold, that it is not (whatsoever it seems) against the common judgment of the Fathers. This argument, saith he, doth most illustriously convince the followers of the contrary opinion, that they ought not to dare affirm hereafter, that their opinion flows from the common judgment and writings of the ancient doctors.

His second answer is, that whereas Bandellus, and Cajetan, &c., produce general sayings of Irenæus, Origen, Athanasius, Theophilus Alexandrinus, Greg. Nyssen, Basil, Greg. Naz., Cyprian, Hierom, Fulgentius, and in a manner of all the ancient Fathers, exempting

Christ alone from, and consequently concluding the Virgin Mary under original sin, which argument must needs conclude, if the Virgin Mary be not Christ; his answer, I say, is, These testimonies have little or no strength; for did they conclude, we must then (let us in God's name) say, that the Virgin Mary committed also many venial sins: for the scriptures, fathers, and councils set forth in propositions as universal, that there is no man, but Christ, who is not often defiled, at least with smaller sins, and who may not justly say that petition of our Lord's Prayer, *Dimitte nobis debita nostra.*

An answer, I confess, as fit as a napkin, to stop the mouths of his domestic adversaries, though no way fit to satisfy their reason. But this man little thought there were protestants in the world, as well as Dominicans, who will not much be troubled, by thieves falling out, to recover more of their goods than they expected, and to see a prevaricating Jesuit, instead of stopping one breach in their ruinous cause, to make two. For whereas this man argues from the destruction of the consequent to the destruction of the antecedent, thus—If these testimonies were good and concluding, then the Virgin Mary should have been guilty, not only of original, but also of actual sin: but the consequent is false and blasphemous; therefore the antecedent is not true—they on the other side argue, and sure with much more reason, and much more conformity to the ancient tradition, from the assertion of the antecedent to the assertion of the consequent, thus: If these testimonies be good and concluding, then the blessed Virgin was guilty both of original sin and actual: but the testimonies are good and concluding; therefore she was guilty even of actual sins, and therefore much more of original.

His third answer is, That either their church hath, or may define many other things, against which (if their works be not depraved) there lies a greater consent of Fathers, than against the immaculate conception; and therefore why not this?

As, That the blessed Virgin committed no actual sin.

2. That the angels were not created before the visible world.

3. That angels are incorporeal.

4. That the souls of saints departed are made happy by the vision of God before the day of judgment.

Against the first opinion he alleges direct places out of Origen, which he says admit no exposition, though Pamelius upon Tertullian, and Sixtus Senensis, l. 6. Bibl. An. (San.?) labour in vain to put a good sense on them: out of Euthymius: out of Theophylact: out of St. Chrysostom divers pregnant testimonies, and St. Thomas his confession touching one of them: out of the author of the questions of the New and Old Testament, cap. 75, in St. Austin: out of St. Hilary upon Psalm cxviii.; which words yet, says he, Tolet has drawn to a good construction, yet so, that much difficulty still remains in them: out of Tertullian, *De Carne Christi*, cap. 7; which he tells us will not be salved with Pamelius his gloss: out of Athanasius: out of Irenæus 3. 18: out of Austin, lib. 2. *De Symbolo ad Catech.* cap. 5; whose words yet, because they admit, says Poza, some exposition, I thought fit to suppress, though some think they are very hard to be avoided: out of Greg. Nyss.: out of St. Cyprian in his sermon on the passion; whose words, says he, though they may by some means be eluded, yet will always be very difficult, if we examine the antecedents and consequents: out of Anselm, Rich. de St. Vic-

tor, St. Ambrose, St. Andrew of Hierusalem, and St. Bede: and then tells us, there are many other testimonies much resembling these, and besides, many Fathers and texts of scripture, which exempt Christ only from actual sin; and, lastly, many suspicious sayings against her immunity in them, who use to say, that at the angel's annunciation she was cleansed and purged and expiated from all faults committed by her freewill; which, saith he, though Canisius and others explicate in a pious sense, yet at least they shew, that either those alleged against the immaculate conception are as favourably to be expounded; or we must say, that a verity may be defined by the see apostolic against the judgment of some Fathers.

From these things, says he, is drawn an unanswerable reason, that for the defining of the purity of the conception nothing now is wanting. For seeing, notwithstanding more and more convincing testimonies of Fathers, who either did, or did seem to ascribe actual sin to the blessed Virgin; notwithstanding the universal sayings of scriptures and councils, bringing all, except Christ, under sin; lastly, notwithstanding the silence of the scriptures and councils touching her immunity from actual sin; seeing, notwithstanding all this, the council of Trent[n] hath either decreed, or hath confirmed, it being before decreed by the consent of the faithful, that the blessed Virgin never was guilty of any voluntary, no not the least sin; it follows certainly, that the apostolic see hath as good, nay better ground, to enrol amongst her articles the Virgin's immaculate conception. The reason is clear: for neither are there so many nor so evident sentences of Fathers, which impute any fault or blemish to the conception of the

[n] Sess. VI. c. 23. De Justificat.

mother of God, as there are in appearance to charge her with actual offences; neither are there fewer universal propositions in scripture, by which it may be proved, that only Jesus was free from actual sin, and therefore that the Virgin Mary fell into it; neither can there at this time be desired a greater consent of the faithful, nor a more ardent desire than there now is, that this verity should be defined, and that the contrary opinion should be anathematized for erroneous and heretical. The words of the council of Trent, on which this reason is grounded, are these: "If any man say, that a man all his life long may avoid all, even venial sins, unless by special privileges from God, as the church holds of the blessed Virgin, let him be anathema." But if the consent of the church hath prevailed against more and more clear testimonies of ancient Fathers, even for that which is favoured with no express authority of scriptures or councils; and if the council of Trent, upon this consent of the faithful, hath either defined this immunity of the Virgin from all actual sin, or declared it to be defined; who then can deny, but that the church hath immediate power to define among the articles of faith the pious opinion of the immaculate conception?

His second example, by which he declares the power of their church to define articles against a multitude of Fathers, (and consequently not only without, but against tradition,) is the opinion, that angels were not created before the corporeal world was created; which, saith he, is or may be defined, though there were more testimonies of Fathers against it, than against the immaculate conception. So he says in the argument of his fifth chapter. And in the end of the same chapter, The council of Lateran hath defined this against the express judgment of twenty Fathers, of which Nazi-

anzen, Basil, Chrysostom, Cyril, Hierom, Ambrose, and Hilary are part.

His third example to the same purpose is the opinion that angels are incorporeal; against which, saith he, in the argument of his sixth chapter, there are more testimonies of the Fathers, than against the immaculate conception; and yet it is, or at least may be, defined by the church. And in the end of the chapter: I have for this opinion cited twenty-three Fathers, which, as most men think, is now condemned in the Lateran council[o]; or at least, as Suarez proves[p], is to be rejected as manifestly temerarious.

His fourth and last example to the same purpose is the opinion, that the souls of saints departed enjoy the vision of God before the resurrection; against which, he tells us, in the first place, was the judgment of pope John XXI, though not as a pope, but as a private doctor. Then he musters up against it a great multitude of ancient Greek and Latin Fathers, touching which he says: All these testimonies when Vasquez had related[q], at length he answers[r], that they might be so explained, as to say nothing against the true and catholic doctrine; yet if they could not be so explained, their authority ought not to hinder us from embracing that which the church hath defined. The same argument I make, says Poza: The Fathers and ancient doctors, which are objected against the pious opinion of the conception of the Virgin, may be commodiously explicated, or at least so handled that they shall not hurt; notwithstanding, though they cannot be explicated, some of them, yet their testimony ought not to hinder, but that the see apostolic may define the blessed Virgin's preservation

[o] Firm. De Summa Trinitate.
[p] De Angelis, I. 6.
[q] 1, 2. D. 29. cap. 1.
[r] Cap. 3.

from original sin. In fine, for the close of this argument, he adds, *Nolo per plura*, I will not run through more examples; these that I have reckoned are sufficient, and admonish learned men to bring together other like proofs, whereby they may promote the desired determination.

[*The remainder of this Tract is now for the first time printed from MS. Tanner.*]

Nephew. I easily see that it is impossible this faith should receive beginning in our fathers' days, nor yet in our grandfathers'. For then they that lived then when it began, must have known it—which if they did, and yet delivered to their children for apostolical, they had been worse than villains to have all conspired together to damn their children with a novel and false doctrine, which themselves had invented and not received from their fathers. And as it were an horrible impiety to impute such dishonesty to our forefathers, so I think by your former discourse that it is an absolute madness to imagine it. For I do not see why our fathers in so weighty a matter as their own and their children's salvation, should not be of as good credit in this point, as our neighbours who pass by St. Alban's, in saying there is such a city as London.

Uncle. For the discussion of this collection which you pretend you see so easily, give me leave, good nephew, to ask you two or three questions. And first, whether protestants had fathers, and grandfathers, and great-grandfathers?

Nephew. Truly it is a very great question, whether they had any of their religion.

Uncle. That may be a question indeed, but it is none of mine. I ask you one which is far more easily answered—Had they any at all?

Nephew. They had: and what of that?

Uncle. And have I not heard you say, that you can assign the time and place when and where their religion began, whereas before, it was not in the world.

Nephew. Yes, you have; and I am ready to justify it. The time was about a hundred and seventeen years ago; the place Saxony, the author Luther, and the followers Melanthon, Calvin, Bucer, and Œcolampadius, &c.

Uncle. These things we will examine some other time; but now I will proceed with my questions. These beginners, as you pretend, of protestant religion, did they not deliver it to their children as apostolical?

Nephew. I cannot deny it. They did it, very falsely and impudently, but yet they did so.

Uncle. And were they such villains to conspire together with an intent to damn their [children] with a novel and false doctrine which themselves had invented, and not received from their forefathers?

Nephew. Perhaps they were: such men we cannot think too ill of.

Uncle. Then belike it is possible for some men's forefathers to be such villains. And (if) of some, why not of others? If of protestants, why not of catholics? unless you will say, that protestant parents love not their children so well as catholics.

Nephew. I must confess my zeal against protestants misled me, and made me answer your last question otherwise than I should have done. For upon better consideration, I cannot find any certain ground to induce me to believe, that they wittingly and willingly preached known false doctrine, with an intent to damn their children—but rather, that being deceived themselves, they deceived others.

Uncle. It seems then there is no necessity that they

which preach new doctrine under the title of apostolical should be such villains as to conspire together to damn their children with false doctrine: for it is not certain that all which do so, do it out of malice. It is possible, as we see by the example of the protestants, they may be deceived themselves, and deceive others. And if the forefathers of men of other religions may be deceived, why not ours; being men as well as they.

Nephew. Nay, the reason is not the same. For our forefathers were the church, and so privileged from error; theirs were not the church, and therefore might err.

Uncle. But protestants perhaps will say, that whether the church may err, whether your forefathers were the church, whether theirs were no part of the church—all these are very doubtful and disputable questions themselves, and therefore not fit to determine this in controversy. Besides, they are such questions as cannot be decided by the judgment of common sense, and that is all that here we are to deal with.

Nephew. Say you, that there is a wide difference between the forefathers of protestants and us catholics? For they call themselves reformers, and take upon to forsake the religion of their forefathers, and do not so much as pretend that they received it from them, or that they deliver what they received, or preach only what they were taught—but profess plainly, that they deduce it by discourse from scripture, and discourse being a fallible thing, it is not impossible nor improbable that they may fail in their deductions. But our forefathers on the contrary. For the purpose, those that were Luther's contemporaries profess constantly, that the religion which they taught their children they learnt it, and every point and article of it, from their forefathers: and they when they lived, that they

received wholly and entirely from theirs, until we come to the apostles, who received it from the author, Christ Jesus himself. Look therefore in how much greater danger of erring and deceiving they are who teach what out of some principles they have deduced by reason, than they who undertake to deliver to others what they in formal terms have received themselves— By so much more likely are protestants to err in their deductions, than catholics in their tradition.

Uncle. If I should say thus to a protestant, I fear he would not be so satisfied: for first, perhaps, he would tell me, that the conclusions of geometry are far (more) certainly known than historical narrations, although committed to writing, much more if not so— Then, that protestants pretend that their religion consists principally of the principles themselves, that is, the formal texts of scripture, but wholly of the principles and such evident deductions as no man can doubt that believes the principles.

[The MS. has no more. The Treatise appears not to have been finished.]

Against punishing Crimes with Death.

[The whole of the following paper is taken from a copy in the handwriting of archbishop Sancroft, which is preserved in MS. Tanner, No. 233.]

My fourth motion is, that they who by the rigour of the laws are to suffer death, and especially thieves, may by the clemency of this present parliament be saved from death, and made public slaves. My reasons are, first, because the chief end of punishment being, that others may fear to offend, the punishment of public slavery, as it may be ordered, being a long and lasting punishment, is like to work more effectually to this end, than putting to death, which is dispatched in a moment. Lasting pain and public shame, though in true account not so great a punishment as death, especially if we remember the danger that follows after, yet certainly to the generality of men is much more terrible than speedy death; especially to Englishmen. For the best observers of their natures and disposition have out of their experience assured us, that they are generally not so much afraid of death, as of pain and shame. So that we have reason to expect, that this punishment will be more available the for achieving the end of all punishment, which is by fear to keep others from transgressing; and therefore, in policy, we should rather make use of it than the other.

Secondly, it seems better in order to justice; because this kind of punishment, besides the benefit of a more lasting and a more public example, leaves the criminal a possibility and power to make some kind of satisfaction for the injury done by him to his neighbour, by restitution, and to the commonwealth, by doing some service to the public; both which by capital punish-

ments are quite taken away. Our commonwealth for want of public slaves wants many great advantages; as the use of galleys, the making or repairing of public ways, the opening the passages of all our great rivers, and making an intercourse between them: which, and many other noble works of great benefit to the public, by the labour of public slaves might be obtained, and that without any prejudice or danger, if they be wisely ordered.

Thirdly, it is more agreeable to charity. For it is, I conceive, most evidently demonstrable out of the principles of charity, as a certain conclusion, that destructive punishments ought not to be used against any delinquents whatsoever, if in reason we may expect, that such as are medicinal and not destructive, will be as exemplary and as beneficial to the commonwealth, or rather much more. For certainly nothing can be more agreeable to charity, than all possible and lawful parsimony of the blood of Christians, nay even of the blood of men; nor any thing more apparently repugnant to Christian charity, and the bowels of compassion, and even to humanity itself, than to hurt, much more to destroy any person, unless this severity be necessary, or may at least be useful for the public good: for that were to shed the blood of a man and of a Christian to no purpose.

Fourthly, capital punishments as they are now ordered, are ordinarily, if not necessarily, as we may well fear, joined with the eternal destruction of the delinquents' souls; who are commonly turned out of the world without other preparation for their last account, than only some sad short recollections, and constrained sorrow for their sins and their calamities, with some stupifying comfort grounded thereupon, which is commonly, but grossly, mistaken to be true repentance.

But repentance is not so ordinary a thing, nor of so easy dispatch, as most mistake it, who conceive it to be nothing more, but true sorrow for sin past, with true intention to forsake it. Whereas it is a true and an habitual change of the soul and the whole man, an effectual forsaking of sin, and an effectual and constant practice of Christian holiness, and an universal obedience to the law of Christ. The scripture assures us expressly, that without the knowledge of God's will revealed to us by Jesus Christ, without effectual forsaking and mortifying our sins, and without the effectual practice of Christian virtues, such as may truly denominate us new creatures and holy men, without true mortification and sanctification, briefly, *without holiness, no man shall see God.* This being so, it is easy to judge, that it is morally impossible for our miserable delinquents ordinarily to be so qualified with true repentance, as to be in the state of salvation, experience shewing, that few of them are truly mortified and sanctified men. And indeed the course now taken, as it gives them not means, so it allows them not time between their imprisonment and execution necessary for the effecting of this great work in themselves, which yet God is willing to grant them; and therefore it cannot be excused from a most bloody and horrible uncharitableness, and a base esteem of men's souls, if we allow them not all possible means to effect this great work in themselves, and all that time and space, even to a minute, which God in his mercy is pleased to allow them. Whereas we take from them that time, and inflict on them a punishment, the consequents whereof, though we intend it not, are infinitely more grievous than the punishments which we inflict, too frequently destroying the delinquents, both body and soul.

Fifthly and lastly, as to theft, God himself, the judge of all the world, in the time of the Old Law, though a time of rigour and severity, appointed, that theft should be punished only with restitution of fourfold; or with slavery, in case it could not be paid. How ill therefore must it needs become us under the Gospel, a time of grace, mercy, and clemency, to inflict upon this fault a punishment destructive always to the body, and most frequently to the soul. For this we have no colour or pretence, but the most injurious contumely of our nation, as if we were more prone to thievery than the Jews. But the true reason is, our most unchristian overvaluing our worldly goods, which makes us provide for their security by any means, and our more unchristian undervaluing the souls of our brethren, which *were not redeemed with corruptible things, as gold or silver or precious stones, but with the precious blood of Christ*, and therefore should not be so basely esteemed, as to be sacrificed to, or endangered for our love of them.

" This I collected and thus digested out of a very con-
" fused, blotted, foul paper, which I found among my
" predecessor's papers: but the paper itself was of Mr.
" Chillingworth's handwriting, as Archbishop Dolben as-
" sures me, and appears by other writings with his name
" subscribed, which I have."

THE END.

A TABLE

OF THE

PRINCIPAL MATTERS IN CHARITY MAINTAINED, &c.

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